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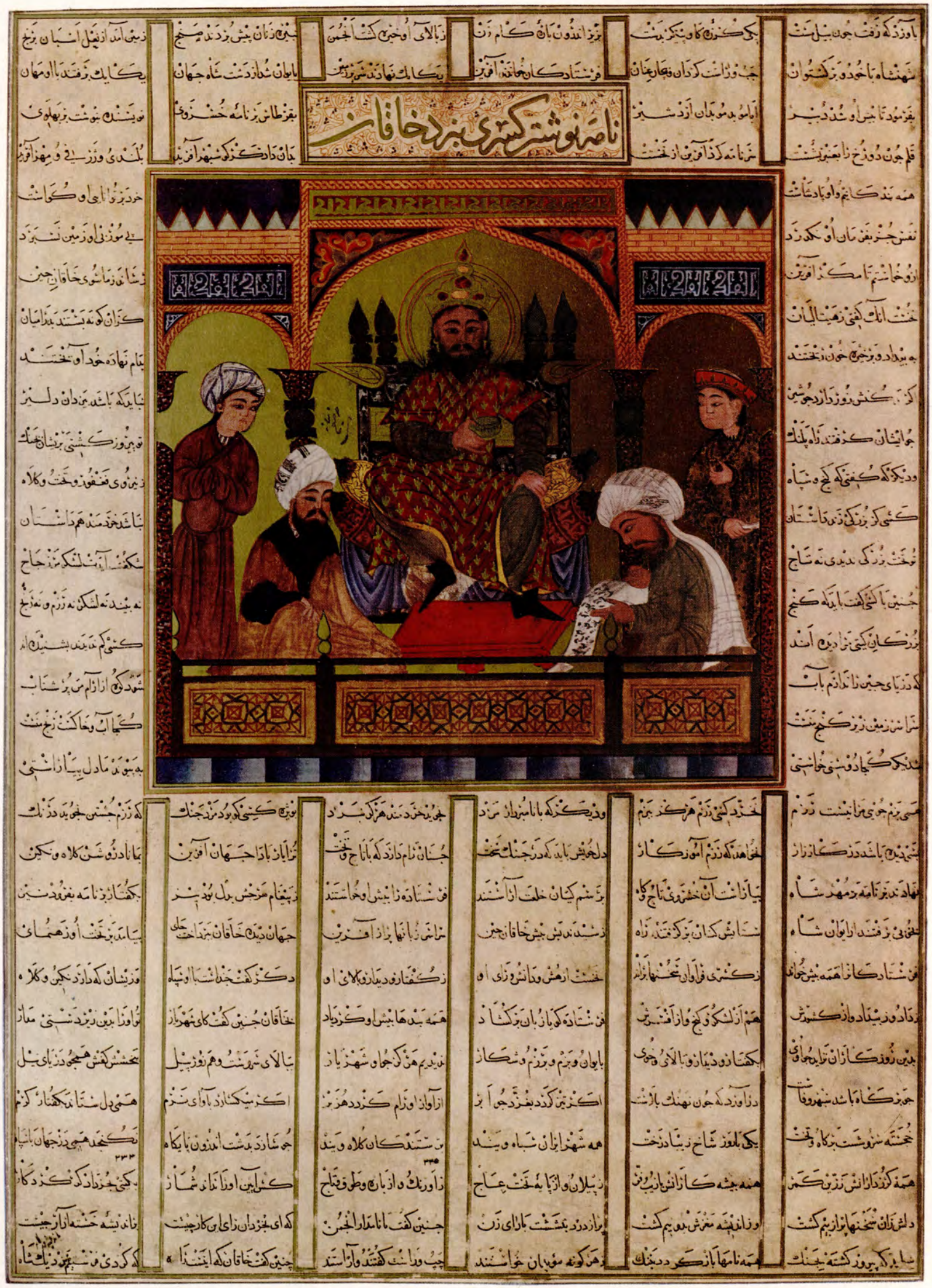
A CATALOGUE OF THE PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS AND MINIATURES



111. SHĀH-NĀMAH

7. KHUSRAU ANŪSHĪRVĀN DICTATING A LETTER

THE
CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY

A CATALOGUE OF THE PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS AND MINIATURES

VOLUME I MSS. 101–150

BY

A. J. ARBERRY, M. MINOVI, and
the late E. BLOCHET

EDITED BY THE LATE
J. V. S. WILKINSON

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FOREWORD

I HAVE for many years taken a special interest in fine Persian manuscripts, which at their best seem to me to have no rivals, from the delicacy of their ornament and the beauty of their miniatures. I was fortunate to start collecting many years ago when it was much easier to obtain outstanding Persian manuscripts and miniatures than it is nowadays, and I have had a very interesting time during the last forty years making this collection. As it is becoming increasingly difficult to discover good examples, and as the collection will not be enlarged very much in the future, I think it is now time to publish the catalogue, so that other lovers of this form of art may enjoy studying it.

It is much more extensive than the Indian one which appeared just before the last war, the Persian collection being far larger. The volumes will, however, be of smaller size than before, as the first catalogue was considered rather inconvenient to handle.

The detailed examination of the manuscripts, and the actual cataloguing, are the work of the late M. E. Blochet, Mr. M. Minovi, and Professor A. J. Arberry, who have all given of their best in the compilation, which must have presented unusual difficulties. I also wish to thank Mr. Wilfred Merton and the staff of Messrs. Emery Walker, Ltd., who have dealt with the preparation of the plates in such an excellent manner. In addition, I wish to thank Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson especially, who has borne so large a share in the preparation of the Catalogue.

A. CHESTER BEATTY

July, 1956

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INTRODUCTION

THE Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures and Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection appeared in 1936. The Turkish Catalogue has been completed and will probably be issued almost at once, while Catalogues of the other Oriental collections will be published as soon as circumstances allow.

Owing to the great extent of the Persian Collection and because of the difficulties and delays entailed over publications of this kind, it was decided to bring out this Catalogue in separate volumes. The present volume contains the first fifty entries, and it is intended to complete the work in two further volumes, which will include the separate miniatures not contained in manuscripts; in the last volume there will be an index to the whole.

Certain matters meanwhile must be touched on here. Sir Chester Beatty's Persian Collection may be regarded as one part of an extensive and complex whole, which is concerned with both the art of the book and the literature of Islam. It is most closely linked with the Indian and Turkish Collections, both of which have obvious affinities with Persia. Moreover, the various collections occasionally overlap. An Arabic or Persian text may, for instance, be written, illuminated, and illustrated in India or Turkey, or a Turkish text in Persia; or again a manuscript may be written in one country and have miniatures inserted in another. In the Persian Collection, however, the texts of the manuscripts are usually in Persian, or, less commonly, in Arabic.

The Collection includes some manuscripts of the greatest textual interest, but its main emphasis is on the arts of the book, in which the Persians were for centuries the acknowledged masters of the Islamic world—on calligraphy, illumination, and especially miniature-painting. The illustrations to this Catalogue are confined for the most part to the miniatures. The Collection is so large that only part of the ground could be covered—though many of the manuscripts merit fuller illustration—and miniatures lose less in reproduction than ornament. Detailed descriptions of the ornament have been as a rule eschewed, as these serve little purpose unless fully illustrated.

The Catalogue is a joint production, and is mainly the work of three eminent scholars, the late M. E. Blochet, Mr. M. Minovi, and Professor A. J. Arberry, as indicated by the initials E. B., M. M., and A. J. A., at the end of each description. M. Blochet originally described many of the manuscripts some years before the Second World War, but he died before he could revise his work, and meanwhile the plan of the Catalogue was somewhat altered and it had to be extensively rewritten. To Mr. Minovi's fine scholarship and careful researches are due, in particular, descriptions of some of the most interesting textually of the early manuscripts (few eyes but his could have deciphered the important dedication in No. 149). Professor Arberry has not only had a large share in the actual cataloguing, but has given advice on many points. It did not seem necessary to distinguish the precise part played by the Editor in the descriptions: it is

mainly confined to certain remarks on the illumination and miniatures. He must, however, be held responsible for the errors and inconsistencies which almost inevitably occur in a text so full of names and dates. Some descriptions are more detailed than others, and it seemed preferable in certain cases to retain records of expert research, even at the sacrifice of rigid uniformity.

Though precise dating has often been impossible, the entries are arranged chronologically, without regard to subjects, but here again no absolute consistency is pretended; No. 150, for instance, is somewhat later than a number of manuscripts of the latter part of the fifteenth century, which will be described in the second volume.

The manuscripts with which this volume is concerned are of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Some of them are well known, at least from reproductions, to students of the subject, and are mentioned in standard works; but there are others of little if any less importance; nearly all the manuscripts and separate leaves here described, in fact, contain noteworthy features. Among those of particular textual and bibliographical interest are Nos. 101–3, 107, 109, 112–114, 132, 134, 144, and 149. The following may be specially mentioned on account of the beauty of their ornament and miniatures, or their value in one way and another for the study of art history: Nos. 103–5, 110–14, 119–120, 122–5, 127, 133, 135, 137, 139, 141, 143, 144, 147–150.

J. V. S. WILKINSON

December, 1956

CATALOGUE

101

TAFSĪR OF ṬABARĪ

EARLY 13TH CENTURY

Part of the Persian translation of Ṭabarī's Commentary on the Koran

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī died in 310 (923) and a copy of his great *Tafsīr* in forty volumes was carried from Baghdad to Khurasan, whereupon the Sāmānid ruler of Khurasan and Transoxiana, Abū Ṣālih Manṣūr ibn Nūh (350–65 (961–76)), who did not understand Arabic, ordered a body of scholars and theologians, well versed in both the Arabic and Persian tongues, to make an abridged translation of the work. The rendering was to contain, also, not only the stories and legends of pre-Muhammadan times, but the history of Islām and of the Caliphs and rulers of the Empire up to the year 345. This was done; and the Commentary was divided into fourteen volumes and the historical supplement into six volumes.[1] Later on copies were made in seven volumes, each comprising one-seventh of the Koran, and some one-volume copies also were made. The present copy belongs to the first category.

Manuscripts of this earliest Persian Commentary on the Koran are rare. There is a fairly complete copy (lacking most of the text of the Koran and its literal translation) in the British Museum (Add. 7601), dated 883 (1478), in one volume; another copy, of the seven-volume category, complete except for the fourth volume, dated 606–8 (1209–11), belonged to the Ardabīl Shrine and is now in the Royal Library of Gulistān, Tehran. A copy of the first of seven volumes in Rampur State Library is believed to have been written *circa* 600, and another copy of the same volume is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; this was apparently written between 607 and 624.

This volume comprises text with interlinear Persian translation and commentary from verse 141, chapter 26 up to the 9th verse in chapter 33; it corresponds to the second half of vol. v in the Ardabīl MS. and to fol. 222, line 12 to fol. 260*b* (left blank) of the British Museum MS. It is, therefore, the tenth volume of a set of fourteen volumes.

The copy is defective at both ends, and on fol. 1 is a Preface, written about A.H. 1000.[2] There is a lacuna between foll. 92 and 93.

[1] See Storey, i, pp. 1–2, 61–5; Cureton–Rieu, *Cat. cod. orient. Mus. Brit.*, pp. 370–1; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.* i, pp. 8–9; Blochet, *Cat. MSS. pers. Bibl. Nat.* i, pp. 16–17; Ivanow, *Descript. Cat. Pers. MSS. As. Soc. Bengal*, pp. 462–3; Nazīr Aḥmad, 'Notes on important . . . MSS. found in various Libraries India', in *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xiv (1918), p. ccxxiii; Minovi, description of the Ardabīl MS. in the Persian periodical *Taqaddum*, vol. i (1928), pp. 56–60 and 105–7; Uktā'i, *Catalogue of MSS. in Mashhad*, vol. i, sect. iii, pp. 7–8; Ethé, 'Neupersische Litteratur', in *Grund. d. Iran. Philol.* ii, pp. 366; Romaskevich in *Zapisky koll. vost.*, vol. v (1930), pp. 80–6; Qazvīnī, preface to the *Marzubān-nāmah*, pp. ٥–٤٠, and in *Īrānshahr* (period. in Pers.), vol. i (1923), pp. 318 et seq.; and *Bīst Maqālah*, pt. i, pp. 49–50; Brockelmann, i. 143, and Suppl. i. 218.

[2] There is a note of ownership dated Rajab 1038 at the beginning.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 28 × 17·50 cm.; the written surface measures 23 × 13 cm.; 14 lines; 113 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a good broad *Naskh* (commentary) and a large *Sulṣ* (text). The paper is rather thick and is slightly coloured by age.

BINDING. There is a modern black leather, oriental binding with tooled medallions.

DATE. A copy of the first volume out of fourteen belonging to the same set as this manuscript was sold at Sotheby's in June 1938. This was dated 632 (1235).

ILLUMINATION. The titles are written in gold in *Muḥaqqaq* style with black outlines. There are illuminated circles in the margins opposite every tenth verse.

[E. B. and M. M.]

102

THE ASTROLABE

LATE 13TH CENTURY (?)

An Arabic treatise on the Astrolabe

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The manuscript is badly out of order; the leaves should be arranged thus: foll. 1–27 (lacuna), 97, 98, 99, 96, 78–85, 38–46, 57–77, 86–95 (fol. 88 is turned, so is fol. 94), 47–56, 37 (the leaf is turned), 31, 28–30, 32, 33, 36 (lacuna), 34, 35, incomplete at the end. This arrangement is provisional.

When arranged in this sequence the book consists of two parts, the first being on astronomical calculations and instructions as to how to use the various astronomical tables, divided into 130 chapters. The first three pages contain the list of contents of this part, and on line 6 of page 4 starts the text from chapter I continuing down to fol. 24*b*, where the 130 chapters are completed. Next follows a table of 'distances and rectifications' of stars. On fol. 25 the author begins an argument to prove the preceding calculations, and this forms the second part of the work, divided into 125 chapters. After fol. 27 comes the first chapter of this second part. The chapters are numbered in both parts by *abjad* letters, and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the arrangement except in the case of foll. 31 and 32, in which the chapter numbers are not clearly legible, and foll. 25, 26, and 27, which have no chapter numbers.

Accidentally, or purposely, the later binder of the work has placed foll. 27*b* and 28, originally separated from each other, in juxtaposition, so that two blank pages have come face to face, and on these two a later hand has fabricated a colophon,[1] half on each page, surrounded by two decorative patterns (*turanj*). Obviously these cannot have

[1] It is interesting to note that an almost exactly similar deception was perpetrated in a manuscript in the British Museum. This (Or. 7942) is a copy of the *Dīvān* of Khāqānī, copied, according to the colophon, in A.H. 664. At the end of the first part is an illuminated *ex-libris* in exactly the same writing and style as that in this manuscript, stating that the book was made for the library of an Amīr of Khvarazm in the year A.H. 594. The beginning of the second part also is similarly decorated. The British Museum MS., in which, clearly, the same hand has been at work, was purchased in 1913.

been made at the date the colophon claims to have been written. This runs as follows: 'The first volume of the book on the science of Usturlāb is completed, and there follows the second volume from the composition of the learned Imām Abū'l-Ḥasan Nīshābūrī (May God approve of him!), in the month Rajab of the year 522. Aḥmad al-Baihaqī.' There are at least ten grammatical mistakes and omissions in this small sentence, being the sort of faults a Persian not well versed in writing Arabic would make. There can be no doubt that the book could not have been composed at such a date, but was written at least 150 years later, from the fact that the author quotes three times (foll. 25*a*, 25*b*) the famous mathematician and astronomer Abū 'Alī al-Marrākushī, with the prayer formula 'May God's grace be upon him' after his name, which is never used for the living. Now Abū 'Alī al-Marrākushī (al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar) lived in the 13th (7th) century, wrote in 627 (1230) and died in 660 (1262) (see Brockelmann, *Gesch. Ar. Litter.* i, pp. 473–4; Suppl. i, p. 866). That he mentions the year 680 in his works and calculates for it is no proof that he was alive then; astronomers often make such calculations in advance. It is evident, therefore, that the present work could not have been composed before 660 (1262). On the other hand, the paper, ink, style of writing, and internal evidence suggest that the manuscript was written not long after this date, and most probably it was executed before A.D. 1300. One sentence, if taken literally, may throw some light on the time of the author, the opening phrase on fol. 25, which runs: 'Said the Shaikh, the Imām, the learned, the author of this book, may God approve of him and may he benefit the Muslims by his long life!' If we accept a date *circa* 680 (1282) for the manuscript, then the author must still have been alive.

Exact details relating to this composition can never be ascertained unless another complete copy of the work is discovered.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 28 × 20·2 cm.; the written surface measures 24·7 × 18·2 cm.; 25 lines; 99 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing of the first part is an elegant *Naskh*, written along red-ink rules, a style found only in very old books. The second part, also in *Naskh*, is in another, less-accomplished writing. The paper is of an ivory tone, not polished.

BINDING. The outside of the cover is of brown leather with blind-tooled corners and a central design; the doublure is also of brown leather.

DATE AND SCRIBE. (See above, under 'Subject and Arrangement'.) The manuscript would appear to have been written about the end of the 13th century.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. There are 131 diagrams in red and black ink. The illumination on foll. 27*b* and 28 has been mentioned above. The text on those pages is written in gold on cloud forms, the surround being richly ornamented in gold and blue.

The ornament though skilful must be much later than the manuscript.

[E. B. and M. M.]

103

MAJMŪʿAH I DAVĀVĪN

DATED 699 (1300)

A manuscript of the Dīvāns of ten Persian Poets; entitled 'Majmūʿah i Davāvīn i dah-gānah'

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The manuscript consists of the following ten *Dīvāns*:

I. *Dīvān* of Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl, foll. 1–122, lacking 11 folios at the end.
II. *Dīvān* of ʿAbd al-Vāsiʿ Jabalī, foll. 123–60, lacking 4 folios and one blank leaf at the beginning.
III. *Dīvān* of Rashīd al-Dīn Vaṭvāṭ, foll. 161–216.
IV. *Dīvān* of Abū'l-Faraj Rūnī, foll. 217–32.
V. *Dīvān* of Shams al-Dīn Azraqī, foll. 233–47, lacking 3 folios at the end.
VI. *Dīvān* of Shams al-Dīn Ṭabasī, foll. 248–57, lacking 8 folios at the beginning.
VII. *Dīvān* of Najīb al-Dīn Jurbāẕaqānī, foll. 258–71, lacking 2 folios at the beginning.
VIII. *Dīvān* of Rafīʿ al-Dīn Lunbānī, foll. 271*b*–85.
IX. *Dīvān* of Imāmī i Hiravī, foll. 286–305.
X. *Dīvān* of Anvarī, foll. 306–401.

Two more folios are lacking between foll. 152 and 153, and one between 345 and 346. This agrees with the original number of sections in the collection. Folio 1 is in a later hand, about A.H. 1000 (1591–2), and two lists of *Dīvāns* given on the recto side of it show at least two former rearrangements.

I. Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Razzāq of Isfahan lived from about 565 until 635[1] (1170–1238). His *Dīvān* consists chiefly of *qaṣīdahs* and *qiṭʿahs*, with some *ghazals* and a few quatrains, all arranged regardless of alphabetical sequence.[2]

Amongst the panegyrics found in Kamāl's *Dīvān* are: one sent to Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhravardī (539–632); several addressed to Jalāl al-Dīn Minkubirnī, the Khvārazmshāh, who reigned from 617 to 628 and who was received by the rulers of

[1] The biographical notices in Persian *taẕkirah* works, or Lives of Poets, are generally untrustworthy, especially in the case of such authorities as Daulat-shāh and Taqī Kāshī. If, however, Daulat-shāh can be trusted, Kamāl al-Dīn was killed on 2nd Jumādā II, 635 (20 January 1238) by the Mongol conquerors of Isfahan (see Browne's ed., p. 153). As to the approximate date of his birth, he states twice in his *Dīvān* (the present manuscript, foll. 23 et seqq.) that at the death of his father he was about, or less than, 20 years old. Jamāl al-Dīn died in 588 (1192) according to Taqī Kāshī; but Kamāl al-Dīn has written a poem (lacking in our manuscript, but present in other collections, such as the British Museum MS., Add. 18414, fol. 61*b* seqq.) bearing the date of Ramaẕān 585. It is therefore safe to conclude that Kamāl al-Dīn was probably born about 565 (1170).

[2] ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Bīsutūn, who arranged alphabetical indices for the collections of Saʿdī's odes in A.H. 726 (1326), seems to have been the first to attempt this kind of arrangement in a Persian *Dīvān* as, he explains (MS. no. 113 in this collection), this helps in finding the poems in the *Dīvān*, 'contrary to all other *Dīvāns*', in which it is difficult to find a poem.

Central Iran as their sovereign in 621 (1224); and to his brother Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn on the occasion of his wedding; some to Saʿd ibn Zangī of the Sulghurid dynasty, the ruler of Fārs from about 593 to 623, and the latter's son, Abū Bakr (the patron of Saʿdī) who reigned from 623 to 658;[1] several in praise of Ḥusām al-Daulah Ardashīr ibn ʿAlāʾ al-Daulah Ḥasan, the ruler of Mazandaran from about 567 to 602, in the year when this king paid a visit to Isfahan; several in praise of Minkubirnī's minister, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Sharaf al-Mulk of Khvarazm; several addressed to Muẓaffar al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mubāriz of Shabankara, who ruled from 624; one-third of his panegyrics are in praise of the Ṣāʿidī family, especially Abūʾl-ʿAlāʾ Ṣāʿid ibn Masʿūd, who died towards the end of 599, and his son Masʿūd ibn Ṣāʿid. Once (fol. 84) he speaks of forty years of service at the door of this family; and several times he refers to himself as being in his sixties. It is, therefore, quite certain that he was alive up till about 630 (1232/3). There is an elegy on the death of a son of his who died when on a journey.

The odes begin on fol. 99 and the quatrains on fol. 113.[2]

II. ʿAbd al-Vāsiʿ ibn ʿAbd al-Jāmiʿ Jabalī, from the mountains of Gharchistan, flourished in the first half of the 6th century A.H., and died in 555 (1160), according to Taqī Kāshī.[3] He was a highly accomplished man of letters, was well known as a poet in the Arabic language as well as in Persian, and his prose compositions and correspondence were also very much admired. He has praised, amongst others, Sulṭān Sanjar the Seljūqī ruler (d. 552), and Tāj al-Dīn Amīr Abūʾl Faẓl Naṣr ibn Khalaf, the ruler of Nimruz (Sistan) who died in 559.

The odes begin on fol. 152, and the quatrains on fol. 156.

III. Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-ʿUmarī, a descendant of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (the second Caliph), was born at Balkh *circa* 485 (1092) and died in 573 (1177/8).[4] He was appointed as the head of the Correspondence Bureau (Dīvān i Inshā) of ʿAlāʾ al-Daulah Atsiz in 522 (1182), the year of the latter's accession to the throne of Khvarazm in succession to his father Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. The *Ḥadāʾiq al-Siḥr*, on Persian Prosody, and the collection of his Arabic letters have been published, and a copy of his Persian letters is preserved in the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad. His nickname of Vaṭvāṭ (a bat) comes, it is said, from the fact that he was very small in size. He refers to himself as Rashīd. His poems are much embellished, and free use is made of all the figures of speech recorded by him in the *Ḥadāʾiq*.

From the beginning (fol. 161) up to fol. 204*b* the *Dīvān* is occupied by the panegyrics dedicated to Atsiz. Other Amirs and Viziers and notabilities whom he has praised include: Arsalān Khān Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd; Jamāl al-Mulk Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī; Ẓiyāʾ al-Dīn ʿIrāq ibn Jaʿfar; Tāj al-Dīn Rāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī Shaibānī; Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Māzah al-Bukhārī (the great theologian

[1] These dates of accession and the death of Saʿd and Abū Bakr, which differ from those given by popular European sources (such as Zambaur and Browne), are results of a careful and thorough research by Mirzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī, and are published in his work, *Mamdūḥīn i Shaikh Saʿdī*, Tehran, 1938, pp. 5–11.

[2] A short tract in Arabic written by Kamāl al-Dīn is quoted in full by the author of *Maṭāliʿ al-Budūr*, in chapter 40, a copy of which is in this library.

[3] He is mentioned amongst Persian writers of poetry in Arabic in the *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr*, and is reported to have died after 540 (1145/6). See the Leiden Catalogue, vol. ii, p. 236.

[4] The best and latest published account of Rashīd's life is found in the introduction by Mr. A. Eghbāl to his edition of the *Ḥadāʾiq*, Tehran, 1930.

who died in A.H. 536); Kamāl al-Dīn Abū'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn Abī Bakr al-Khāl, who was also praised by Anvarī; Ḥamīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr ʿUmar al-Maḥmūdi (the author of *Maqāmāt i Ḥamīdī*) who died in 559; Shihāb al-Dīn Adīb Ṣābir ibn Ismāʿīl, the famous Persian poet; &c.

The elegies begin on fol. 215, the odes on fol. 215*b*, and the quatrains on fol. 216. On fol. 216*b* the incident of Rashīd being carried in a covered chair into the presence of Takish on the day of his accession is recorded (22 Rabīʿ II, 568 = 11 Nov. 1172),[1] with the quatrain recited by Rashīd.

IV. Abū'l-Faraj ibn Masʿūd Rūnī (of Rūna, a place in the district of Lauhur) lived in the 5th century A.H.[2] Most of his panegyrics are in praise of the Ghaznavid rulers, Ibrāhīm ibn Masʿūd (451–?492) and his sons Masʿūd (?492–508) and Maḥmūd (who was appointed the Governor of India in 469). Of the ministers and eminent personages of the Ghaznavid court, whether in Iran or India, the following persons are amongst those praised by Abū'l-Faraj: Muḥ. ibn Bihrūz ibn Aḥmad; Manṣūr ibn Masʿūd al-Maimandī; Abū Naṣr (Hibat Allāh i Shīrāzi) Pārsī (d. sometime between 509 and 511); ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad; Abū Ḥalīm ibn Zarīr i Shaibānī; &c. Onfol. 230*b* is a poem on a house built by Masʿūd i Saʿd Salmān, and the latter's reply, also in verse. The *qaṣīdahs* are followed by *muqaṭṭaʿāt* (fol. 231) and *ghazals* (231*b*). The *Dīvān* has been printed.[3]

V. Shams al-Dīn (according to other sources Zain al-Dīn) Azraqī, whose name was probably Jaʿfar, lived in the 5th century. Taqī Kāshī's report that Azraqī died in 527 (1133) is certainly wrong, and he must have died about 60 to 70 years before that. If Niẓāmī i ʿArūẓī, writing in 552 (1157), is right in stating in the *Chahār Maqālah* that Firdausī fled [in about 390 (1000)] from Ghaznīn to Herat and hid for six months in the house of Azraqī's father, Ismāʿīl i Varrāq ('Dealer in books'), it is obvious that Azraqī could not have lived 137 years after that date. Furthermore, there is no mention of the brutal treatment by Malik-shāh of his own uncle and cousins, Qāvurd and his sons, in the year 465 (1073) and subsequent years, in the *Dīvān* of Azraqī, who has devoted a great many of his poems to the praise of one of those victims, none except one of whom was alive in 476 (1083/4).[4] Again the author of *Lubāb al-Albāb* (vol. ii, pp. 87–8) says expressly that Azraqī was anterior to Muʿizzī in time; and Muʿizzī flourished in the time of Malik-shāh and Niẓām al-Mulk, both of whom died in 485 (1092).

Azraqī's chief patron was Abū'l-Favāris Shams al-Daulah Ṭughān-Shāh, one of the ten sons of Alp Arsalān the Seljuq, who during his father's lifetime and in the reign of his brother Malik-shāh was Governor of Eastern Khurasan with Herat as his capital, and who was still alive in A.H. 476. From Azraqī's poems it can be gathered that Ṭughān-Shāh was involuntarily living for some time in Sughd, Balkh, and Arghān. He was a great admirer of poetry, and had many poets at his court. Azraqī versified several stories and books for him and his cousin. It was for this Ṭughān-Shāh that the poetical version of the Yūsuf and Zulaikhā in *mutaqārib* metre, wrongly attributed to

[1] See also the *Tārīkh i Jahāngushāy*, ii 17–18.

[2] Taqī Kāshī gives A.H. 489 (1095/6) as the date of his death, but this seems impossible.

[3] Ed. Chaykin, Armaghān Press, Tehran, 1925.

[4] See Mirzā Muḥ. Qazvīnī's annotations to the *Chahār Maqālah* and the *Lubāb al-Albāb*, and the text of those books; the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*; the *History of the Seljuqs of Kirman* by Muḥ. ibn Ibrāhīm; Zambaur; A. Markov's *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins in the Hermitage*; and Azraqī's *Dīvān*.

Firdausī, was made by a mediocre unknown poet. Amīrān-shāh ibn Qavurd (rendered blind by Malik-shāh's order, *circa* 465, and dying before A.H. 476);[1] the Vizier Sharaf al-Daulah Sadīd ad-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad of the Sarī family; Shujāʿ al-Daulah Ḥasan, the Governor of Ghur; the Vizier ʿImād al-Mulk Abū'l-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn Qivām; &c., are also praised by him.

The *Dīvān* is incomplete at the end.

VI. Shams al-Dīn Ṭabasī Muḥ. ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm was a judge (Qāẓī) from and in Ṭabas (Khurasan) in the 7th century A.H. (13th cent. A.D.). It is reported in the *Āthār al-Bilād* (completed in 674 (1275/6)) that his teacher, Raẓī al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī, seeing him follow the style of Khāqānī and writing fine poems, advised him to continue in that style. He later went to Bukhara where he met Ṣadr al-Sharīʿah Masʿūd ibn Muḥammad, the Qāẓī, and, in addition to winning his friendship and learning a great deal from him, he wrote a *qaṣīdah* in the difficult rhyme of the Ṣadr's *qaṣīdah*, in praise of Niẓām al-Mulk Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, the minister to Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān, who resided in Samarqand. His contemporary Muḥammad ʿAufī, in *Lubāb al-Albāb*, quotes three of his poems. It is also recorded that he was of exceeding beauty, 'and did not live long'. This must mean that he died in his fifties at the earliest, because there is a poem in his *Dīvān* on a house built in 591 (1195) for the minister Ṣadr al-Dīn; and the date of his death is put at 624 or 626 (1227 or 1229).[2] The present copy of the *Dīvān*is imperfect at the beginning, starting with the ninth folio. A complete copy is in the collection of six *Dīvāns* in the India Office, written some fourteen years later than our manuscript. Some of this author's poems have been wrongly included in the Tehran lithographed edition of Ẓahīri Fāriyābī's *Dīvān*.

Shams al-Dīn's chief patron was the above-mentioned minister. Other celebrities praised by him are the said Qāẓī; Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿAlī, holder of the position of Ulugh-ḥājib; Saʿd al-Dīn Qutlugh Lālā-beg and his relatives; Shams al-Dīn Ikdish[3] Taksīn (or Ulugh-taksīn); &c.

Ghazals begin on fol. 257 and the quatrains on fol. 257*b*, where the *Dīvān* ends.

VII. Najīb ad-Dīn al-Jurbāẕaqānī lived in the 6th and 7th century of the Hijrah, and must have been contemporary with Nāṣiḥ ibn Sharaf, the translator into Persian of *Tārīkh i Yamīnī*, as most of his patrons were Governors and grandees of the end of the 6th century, namely, Jamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar (ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad), who, according to the excursus of the British Museum MS. of the *Tārīkhi Yamīnī* (Add. 24950), was appointed by Jamāl al-Dīn Ulugh-Bārbeg, as the Raʾīs of Jurbazaqan from about 585 onwards;[4] Ṣadr al-Dīn Khujandī (Maḥmūd ibn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, the head of the Shāfiʿīs in Isfahan, who was beheaded in the year 592,[5] with his sons Tāj al-Islām, ʿImād al-Islām and Majd al-Islām; Jamāl ad-Dīn Āy-Ābah, who was killed in Jumādā I. 584;[6] 'Alā' al-Daulah Mardān-shāh, the 'refuge of the Seljuqs';[7] and others. In one of his

[1] Rieu's statement that Mīrān-shāh reigned in Kirman from A.H. 487 to 494 (A.D. 1094 to 1100) cannot be found in reliable sources.

[2] *ʿAufī*, vol. ii, pp. 307 et seqq; *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 272–3; Ethé's *Ind. Off. Cat.*, col. 612; Daulat-shāh, pp. 161 et seqq.; *Majmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*, vol. i, p. 306; and Sprenger's *Cat. of Oudh MSS.*, in the contents of Taqī Kāshī's *Khulāṣat al-Ashʿār*.

[3] Ikdish = gelding (Morin in Mongol) has no counterpart in Turkish nomenclature.

[4] Foll. 227*b*–230*b*.

[5] See the above-mentioned *Yamīnī*, fol. 226*b*, and *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 381.

[6] Translation of *Yamīnī*, fol. 225b, and *Rāḥat*, p. 347.

[7] *Rāḥat*, pp. 45–6 and 355.

qaṣīdahs, addressed to Jamāl al-Dīn the Raʾīs of Jurbazaqan,[1] he recalls that for thirty years he has been in the service of the Raʾīs and that his age now exceeds 70.[2] It seems that he had left his native town for some time and was living in Isfahan.

VIII. Rafīʿ al-Dīn Lunbānī (of Lunban, a village of the Mārbīn district of Isfahan) was also living in the 6th–7th centuries. The year 603 (1206) fixed by Taqī Kāshī as the date of his death seems, however, too early, and he must have been living after 623, the year of Abū Bakr ibn Saʿd ibn Zangī's accession. His name is given as ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (ibn?) Masʿūd by Taqī Kāshī and the *Haft-Iqlīm* and the *Ātash-kadah*; but in the biographical notice appended in a later hand to the present *Dīvān*[3] he is called Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī ibn Shams al-Dīn.[4] He is said to have had a short life.

His panegyrics are in praise of Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn Minkubirnī and his minister, Fakhr al-Dīn Sharaf al-Mulk ʿAlī; Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Khujandī; Rukn al-Dīn Masʿūd ibn Ṣāʿid; ʿImād al-Islām ʿAẓud al-Dīn Ḥasan; the Sulghurid ruler of Fars, Atābeg Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Saʿd ibn Zangī;[5] ʿImād al-Dīn Asʿad ibn Naṣr; Jamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar (who may be identical with the patron of Najīb ad-Dīn of Jurbazaqan) and others.

Ghazals begin on fol. 282*b* and quatrains on fol. 283.

IX. Imāmī Hiravī, whose name is given as Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh (or Abū Abd Allāḥ Muḥ.) ibn Abū Bakr ibn ʿUṣmān, and whose death took place in the year 686 (1287),[6] was a Shīʿah and follower of the twelve Imāms.[7] He spent most of his active life in central and southern Iran. His panegyrics are in praise of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (al-Juvainī), the Ṣāḥib i Dīvān (d. 683); ʿAlāʾ al-Daulah Rukn al-Dīn Abūʾl-Fatḥ Qutlugh-shāh ibn Muḥammad-shāh, of the Seljuq family; Quṭb al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh; Queen Ulugh Tarkān ʿIṣmat al-Dīn, who built a Friday mosque in Kirman in 663; Shams al-Dīn Fakhr al-Mulk ʿAlī, a minister and a native of Dāmaghān, whose praise is sung in more than a dozen *qaṣīdahs*, and who built a garden-palace in 658 in Kirman; &c.

There are some *tarjīʿ*'s and a few quatrains, including the quatrain composed, in answer to a question by the Ṣāḥib i Dīvān, by Majd ad-Dīn i Hamgar in praise of Imāmī's poetry, and Imāmī's quatrain in further answer to that.[8]

X. Auḥad al-Dīn Anvarī's name according to the prose preface, written by the collector of his poems and the 'editor' of this *Dīvān*, an unknown contemporary of his, was ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq; but ʿAufī[9] calls him Muḥammad ibn Muḥ., which seems doubtful.

The date of Anvarī's death is not certain. He was certainly still alive in 562, and died before 582, as will appear, and the dates 547 and 587 (1152 and 1191) given as the year

[1] Fol. 266*a* and *b*.

[2] This summary is sufficient to prove that Taqī Kāshī's statement, that Najīb al-Dīn died in 665, is definitely wrong, and that he must have died some 60 years before that time. See also Ethé's *Cat. of India Office MSS.*, col. 449, no. 971, where other references are given.

[3] Fol. 285*b*.

[4] Cf. *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ii. 400; Daulat-shāh, 155; *Ātash-kadah* (Bombay lithogr. ed.), 167; and Ethé's *Cat.*, col. 441.

[5] All these persons, as we have seen, have also been praised by Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (*Dīvān* no. 1). Both he and Rafīʿ have an elegy on the death of Masʿūd ibn Ṣāʿid also.

[6] Daulat-shāh, 166; *Ātash-kadah*, 137; *Oudh Cat.*, pp. 439–40; Ethé, coll. 424 and 1035; Rieu, *Suppl.* p. 144.

[7] See the present *Dīvān*, foll. 286*b*–287.

[8] Fol. 305*a* and *b*.

[9] *Lubāb al-Albāb*, i. 125. In fact, a verse in the *Dīvān* itself (fol. 349*b*) confirms that the name of Anvarī's grandfather was Isḥāq. In one British Museum MS. of Anvarī's *Dīvān* (Or. 4514) his father is called Vaḥīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd (fol. 107).

of his death by Daulat-shāh and Taqī Kāshī respectively are therefore wrong. If the argument brought by Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī were decisive,[1] the date 580 (1184) fixed by the *Haft Iqlīm* would also prove unsound. But Qazvīnī's opinion that Anvarī must have died some twenty years before the latest date given by the *tazkirahs* can be sustained and supported by a sound argument. Rāvandī relates[2] that in 580 Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Manūchihr i Shast-kulah told the compilers of an anthology that 'Sayyid i Ashraf (Ḥasan ibn Nāṣir al-'Alavī al-Ghaznavī), who died in 565,[3] came to Hamadan. He went round to all the schools to test the children and find out who could write poems. He gave me (the Shast-kulah) a hemistich and asked me to write some three lines in that likeness. . . . He advised me (afterwards) to memorize poems of such *late* poets as 'Imādī, Anvarī, &c.' If Anvarī was counted amongst the later poets already in Shast-kulah's childhood, and at any rate before 565, it is indeed not likely that he could have lived long after that date. That Anvarī was still alive in A.H. 562 may be proved by the two following considerations: (1) Anvarī once addressed a vazīr by a poem in which he complained that even his shirt was given to him by Abū'l-Ḥasan i 'Imrānī. Futūḥī (Aṣīr al-Dīn Marvazī), by order of that vazīr, answered him that 'Imrānī was killed more than fifteen years since, and a shirt that wears so long is but a coat of mail.[4] Now 'Imrānī Majd al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad of Sarakhs fell into disgrace with Sanjar in 545 and later was put to death in Marv.[5] It is therefore evident that these two poems were composed after 560. (2) In 582 (1186) there occurred a conjunction of the five planets with the sun and moon in the sign of Libra. Many years before that, especially when the previous conjunction had occurred (in 562), astrologers had predicted a 'terrific convulsion of nature' and a hurricane that would bring the Northern regions to an end. Among others, Anvarī was responsible for this verdict, and in spite of many tracts and pamphlets written in refutation of the forecast, it caused a panic that stirred the whole Islāmic world. Not even a gentle breeze blew on the appointed day, and all the astrologers were mocked and reproached for their ignorance. A poem of four hemistichs composed by a certain 'great man'[6] entrusts the punishment of Anvarī's soul to the 'Sender of all Winds'. It may be concluded, then, that Anvarī died between A.H. 562 and 565.[7]

Among celebrities praised by Anvarī are the following: Sulṭān Sanjar (d. 552 (1157)); Abū Shujā' Sulaimān ibn Muḥammad ibn Malik-shāh, the Seljuq Sultan, who reigned six and a half months in 555; 'Imād ad-Dīn Fīrūz-Shāh Aḥmad, known also as Malik-shāh,

[1] Anvarī has several *qaṣīdahs* in praise of a Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad, a descendant of Niẓām al-Mulk, and a Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, each of whom held the position of a minister. Qazvīnī conjectures that these were the two ministers of Sanjar, the former having been put to death in A.H. 511 and the latter having been dismissed from his office in 526. It is therefore difficult, Qazvīnī argues, to believe that a man who wrote such eloquent poems before 511 could have lived up to 587 or thereabout. This problem is discussed later. Accounts of the notices of oriental biographies and European catalogues concerning Anvarī can be found in Rieu, pp. 554 seq., and references given by Ethé in *Ind. Off. Cat.*, col. 581. Qazvīnī's note was published in the *Bīst Maqāla*, vol. ii, pp. 283–90.

[2] *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 57.

[3] Rieu, p. 999, from Taqī Kāshī.

[4] See the present *Dīvān*, fol. 345*a* and *b*.

[5] Al-Ansāb, G.M.S., fol. 398*b*.

[6] Thus in the *Tārīkh i Guzīdah*, G.M.S., p. 474. Daulat-shāh (p. 86) attributes the verse to Farīd Kātib, but he is not a trustworthy author; according to the preface of the *'Iqd al-'Ulā* (composed in 584 (1188)), Farīd i Nasavī wrote a tract in refutation of Anvarī's forecast (Tehran, 1876, pp. 25–6). If the poem was written in reality by a man known as Farīd, it is conceivable that he was Nasavī.

[7] In the lithographed edition of *Ātash-kadah*, 656 (1258) is given as the year of Anvarī's death, which may be a misprint for 556 or 566.

son of Abū Bakr Ṭughān-takīn, ruler of Balkh,[1] who was still alive in 562 (1167); and his minister Jalāl al-Vuzarā', who called Anvarī to the court of the king in 554; the two queens, Tarkān Khātūn Jalāl al-Dīn and Maryam Ṣafvat al-Dīn; Quṭb al-Dīn Maudūd ibn ʿImād ad-Dīn Zangī (and his two sons Saif al-Dīn and ʿIzz al-Dīn), the Atābeg of Mosul from 544 to 564 (1149/50–1168/9, to whose court Anvarī paid a visit and in whose name he wrote a book; Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭāhir ibn Fakhr al-Mulk Muẓaffar ibn Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī, minister to Sulṭān Sanjar from 528 to 548;[2] Majd al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿImrānī, mentioned before; the minister Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd i Khāl (also praised by Rashīd Vaṭvāṭ); a minister with the title and name of Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad, one of the family of Niẓām al-Mulk (he is identified by Qazvīnī with the son of Fakhr al-Mulk and the brother of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭāhir;[3] but it is more probable that he was the second Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad of the same family, namely, a son of Ṭāhir and grandson of Fakhr al-Mulk,[4] who probably succeeded Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd i Khāl in his post); a minister mentioned as Naṣīr i Dīn Maḥmūd, whom Qazvini has identified with Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn Abī Taubah al-Marvazī, who was a minister to Sanjar from 521 to 526, but the identification is not quite certain; Ḥamīd al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn Maḥmūd al-Maḥmūdī of Balkh, the famous Qāẓī and the author of *Maqāmāt i Ḥamīdī* (composed in 551), who died in 559, with a special mention of his *Maqāmāt*.

On fol. 352*b* begin the *Muqaṭṭaʿāt*, amongst which there are several addressed to Anvarī by others, and one is an elegy on his death. On fol. 369*b* begin the *Qasamiyyāt*; on 370 the *Ḥabsiyyāt*, i.e. those written about al-ʿImrānī when he was imprisoned; and on fol. 370*b* the elegies of ʿImrānī, Sanjar, and others.

A special section is devoted to *Iltimāsāt*, i.e. requests for various things, mostly wine (371); and another to the satires and licentious verses (373*b*). Odes begin on fol. 380; some additional short poems (*Ziyādāt*) on fol. 396; and quatrains on fol. 396*b*.

Anvarī's *Dīvān* has been lithographed in Tabrīz.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 34·5 × 23·8 cm.; the written surface measures (between the red rules) 26·6 × 18 cm.; 4 columns of 31 lines; 401 folios.

BINDING. The leather binding, which is later than the text, has a stamped medallion with pendants on each cover.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a fairly good *Naskh* within red rulings, executed probably in Isfahan. The paper is of an ivory tone, thin, and semi-polished.

DATE AND SCRIBE. This manuscript is the work of two scribes, working in collaboration: (1) Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn رحى ibn Nuʿmān al-Yamānī, who wrote foll. 2–160, 286–305, and 314–50. (2) Muḥammad-shāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Maḥmūd ibn Shād-bakht of Isfahan, 'residing in the District of the Deaf (Maḥallat i Karān)', who wrote foll. 161–285, 306–13, and 351–401. This second scribe is credited with copying, in the year previous to his penning the present manu-

[1] One of the *qaṣīdahs* written to this king is dated Bahmanjanah of 533 of the Yazdigirdī era, which falls in Muḥarram of 560 (Nov. 1164).

[2] One of these *qaṣīdahs* is dated Ẕu'l-Ḥijjah of 540 (May 1146).

[3] *Bīst Maqāla*, pp. 283 seqq. He was put to death in 511 (1117).

[4] *Laṭā'if al-Maʿārif* (Leiden, 1867), p. 44, note; and *Tārīkh i Baihaq* (Tehran, 1938), p. 75.

script, the *Tārīkh i Jahāngushāy* of Juvainī.[1] The writing of a Persian MS. of the Annals of Ṭabarī[2] may also be by him. Four dates are given in four colophons: beginning of Ẕū'l-Ḥijjah, 699 (Sept. 1300), on fol. 160; towards the end of Ẕū'l-Qa'dah 699 (Aug. 1300), on fol. 216*b*; mid-Shavvāl, 699 (July 1300), on fol. 232; and 23 Ẕū'l-Ḥijjah, 699 (10 Sept., 1309), on fol. 401*b*.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The opening page of each of the six *Dīvāns* III, IV, V, VIII, IX, and X is decorated with a *sarlauḥ*, the first four being inscribed with the titles and the last two with the Persian formula of *basmalah*, i.e. بنام ایزد بخشایندهٔ بخشایشگر

They are executed in good 'Mongol' style and contain rather simple floral and geometrical designs. They are apparently quite genuine, although some may have been restored and retouched. They are set in rectangular bands with floral patterns in colour and script in white.

Two quite modern miniatures have been added on blank pages after the *Dīvān* of Abū'l-Faraj (fol. 232*b*), and before the *Dīvān* of Anvarī (fol. 306). In style they copy late Ṣafavī miniatures, but purport to have been painted in the time of Ghāzān. The first actually bears his name and the date 699 (1300) and shows a king and his court in a mosque, and a shaikh who has ascended the *minbar* to preach. The second shows the sovereign enthroned amidst members of his court. These are real works of art.

[E. B. and M. M.]

104

LEAVES FROM A SHĀH-NĀMAH

CIRCA 1300

PLATES

Seventy-seven illustrated folios from a manuscript of the Shāh-nāmah of Firdausī

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT.[3] The leaves are from a manuscript, mutilated in India, of the *Shāh-nāmah*, the Iranian national epic, by Abū'l-Qāsim Ḥasan, known as Firdausī, of Ṭūs (A.H. ?329–?411). The poem was completed in 400 (1010).

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 77 folios, 19 × 13·2 cm., or less; the written surface measures 15·5 × 12·5 cm.; 6 columns to the page of 21 lines. The measurements are not uniform.

There are 80 miniatures in all, one or two on every folio.

[1] *Tārīkh i Jahāngushāy*, iii (G.M.S.), preface, p. ىز.

[2] *Survey of Persian Art*, vol. iii, p. 1833 and vol. v, pl. 816*b*. This cannot, unfortunately, be proved. If it could be, it would point to the probability of this important MS. having been executed at Isfahan.

There is a collection of six *Dīvāns* in the India Office Library, copied by several different scribes, the handwriting of one of whom may well be that of this same Muḥammad-shāh.

[3] For the omission of biographical and bibliographical details see Introduction.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a *Naskh* executed in archaic style.[1] The paper is of a yellow tone, not polished.

BINDING. The folios are all separately mounted.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The late Dr. E. Blochet considered that this manuscript was executed about the year A.D. 1180, or even earlier, basing his conclusion on stylistic grounds. He believed that the miniatures from their shape and horizontal arrangement, from the character of the costumes, and from certain other indications, pointed to a period previous to the Mongol conquest, and he laid insufficient stress on their pronounced Far Eastern elements.

Though precise indications are wanting, it seems more reasonable to attribute the manuscript to the Il-Khānī period, and it may be dated approximately A.D. 1300 or not much later. The reasons for this dating are discussed in Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, pp. 31–2, and by E. Kühnel in the *Survey of Persian Art*, pp. 1833–4. They are based principally on the qualities of the miniatures. See also Stchoukine, *La Peinture iranienne*, pp. 91–2. The scribe's name is not known.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The eighty diminutive paintings are arranged in narrow horizontal bands running right across the page, like friezes. Their character may be judged from the reproductions. The colouring is gay and decorative, the blues being very prominent. Many of the miniatures have gold grounds.

The designs, usually simple, are of admirable vivacity, and the drawing of horses, free and life-like, is clearly inspired by the Far East, as are the mountain and tree conventions, the armour and the cloud forms.

The human types, large in scale, are noticeably Mongoloid, with scanty beards. The embroidered garments and head-dresses are also of Mongol type. But there are certain typically Iranian elements.

There are some leaves from a *Shāh-nāmah* manuscript, or a type akin to this, which were formerly in the possession of Dr. W. Schulz (*Persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, plates 14–18). A manuscript of the same type is also in the Freer Gallery, and some leaves belonging to a private collection were shown at an Exhibition of the Arts of Iran and Baghdad held at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in 1938. M. E. de Lorey in his notes to the catalogue of that exhibition would group these manuscripts with those with red backgrounds as productions of a distinctive Shiraz school; but of this there is no entirely convincing evidence.

In any case the pictures in this group of manuscripts, among which the *Shāh-nāmah* of the miniatures here described is probably the most important, mark a distinctive phase in the development of a national Iranian style, in which the various elements are satisfactorily fused. Also, as Dr. Kühnel remarks, the miniatures obviously follow an old tradition of *Shāh-nāmah* illustration, and give some idea of the early illustrated versions of the epic.

The subjects of the miniatures are as follows:

[1] The ẕāl (ذ) is dotted more often than not, which peculiarity shows that, although the sound was forgotten at the time of the scribes, it was still distinguished from dāl (د), at least occasionally, in writing.

[2] For fuller references see Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art*, p. 30, note 14.

(1) The fight between the Dīv Khazarvān and Syāmak, son of Gayūmarṣ. The Dīv is depicted as a purple-bodied monster; he lies prone on the ground, and Gayūmarṣ's subjects are fighting with Ahriman's demon forces.

(2) Hūshang discovers fire while planning to kill the dragon with a stone.

(3) The usurper Ẓaḥḥāk is chained to the rock by his hands and feet in a cave of Mount Dumāvand. Without is King Farīdūn bearing his ox-headed mace and surrounded by his horsemen.

(4) The army of Salm and Tūr is defeated by the Iranians under the command of Minūchihr, avenging the murder of his grandfather Īraj; Tūr himself is beheaded.

(5) Zāl meeting Rūdābah in her palace; they are seated on a throne in crowns and brocade robes; around them stand Rūdābah's handmaids dressed in Chinese fashion.

(6) Sām receives his grandson Rustam after the latter has won a battle.

(7) A battle between the Iranian cavalry under the command of Kārin, son of Kāvah the smith, and that of Afrāsiyāb.

(8) Rustam, arrayed in gold, succeeds in lassoing Rakhsh, his charger-to-be, in the midst of the drove, notwithstanding the intervention of the herdsman.

(9) Rustam unhorsing Afrāsiyāb.

(10) Rustam roasting a wild ass, as he rests with Rakhsh.

(11) The combat between Rustam and his son Suhrāb, who has overcome him and is seated on his chest ready to stab him.

(12) The Turanian King Afrāsiyāb playing polo with Siyāvush (son of Kai Kāūs, King of Irān) who has fled to Tūrān. Siyāvush, mounted on a black horse, wears a crown and a blue brocade dress.

(13) Siyāvush receives Pīrān's letter informing him that his wife, Jarīrah, Pīrān's daughter, has given birth to a son, whom they have named Furūd.

(14) Farāmarz, son of Rustam, has captured Surkhah, son of Afrāsiyāb.

(15) The paladin Gīv, after a long search in Tūrān, finds Kai Khusrau, son of Siyāvush. Near a tree is Gīv's black steed.

(16) Rustam and Zāl, in blue, and other Iranian paladins meet the young Prince Kai Khusrau before the Iranian throne.

(17) Kai Khusrau, mounted on a white elephant, receives the Iranian army before their departure to Tūrān to avenge the murder of Siyāvush.

(18) Bīzhan, son of Gīv, pursues the Turanian knight Tazhāv in order to capture the latter's wife, who is seated behind him.

(19) An episode during the battle between Iranians and Turanians. Rīvnīz is killed and the Iranians want to prevent their enemies from getting possession of his crown.

(20) Rahhām kills the magician Nastūh who, by sorcery, has caused a severe storm to destroy the Iranian army, and cuts off his hand.

(21) The duel between Rustam and Ashkabūs.

(22) Rustam has taken Kāmūs the Turanian prisoner with a lasso. This painting is less finished than the others and lacks the gold ground, indicating that two artists at least collaborated in illuminating this copy of the Epic.

(23) Rustam overturns Changush by seizing the tail of his horse.

(24) Rustam throws Sāvah to the ground and rides over him.

(25) Rustam captures the Khāqān of Chīn, mounted on a white elephant, by catching his neck in a lasso and pulling him from his mount.

(26) The fight between the hero Rustam and Afrāsiyāb's ally Pūlādvand. Rustam has just vanquished Pūlādvand, who is stretched on the ground in a purple robe; retainers are holding the two chargers.

(27) Hūmān has been killed by Bīzhan, who grasps his decapitated head.

(28) Kai Khusrau kills Shīdah, son of Afrāsiyāb.

(29) Luhrāsp's accession to the throne.

(30) The Iranian prince Gushtāsp slays the dragon of the mountain Sakīlā in the land of Rūm, whence he had fled in fear from his father Luhrāsp.

(31) Gushtāsp, in Rūm, is leading a battle against Ilyās.

(32) During the taking of the city of Balkh the Iranian king Luhrāsp is flung to the ground and killed by horsemen belonging to the army of Arjāsp.

(33) An episode in the battle between the Iranians led by Isfandiyār against the army of Arjāsp: the Turanian knight Kargsār is captured by Isfandiyār with a lasso.

(34) Isfandiyār fighting with wolves: his first exploit.

(35) Isfandiyār fighting the dragon: his third exploit. A pair of wheels represent the armoured chariot within which Isfandiyār has secured himself to give battle to the monster.

(36) Isfandiyār struggling with the sorceress who has turned herself into a lion: the fourth exploit. He has chained the lion and is threatening it with his sword.

(37) The sixth exploit of Isfandiyār: he escapes from the snow-storm.

(38) Isfandiyār's seventh exploit; while marching against Arjāsp, king of the Turks, he saves the first camel entering the river by seizing hold of its hind legs.

(39) Isfandiyār killing Arjāsp in the latter's castle, which he has entered with his army disguised as merchants.

(40) During the combat between Isfandiyār and Rustam, Raksh, seriously wounded, crosses the river; while Rustam, also wounded, seeks shelter on the mountain.

(41) Rustam kills Isfandiyār by shooting him through the eyes with a double-barbed arrow.

(42) Gushtāsp, King of Irān, learns of the death of his son Isfandiyār, whose coffin, draped in blue brocade, is born in by women with their hair in disarray.

(43) While his steed Rakhsh impales itself on some lances at the bottom of a pit, Rustam, on his knees, kills with an arrow his brother Shaghād, who is responsible for entrapping him, and is watching the result of his scheme while taking refuge behind a tree. This conception does not agree with later Iranian iconography, in which Rustam is shown impaled in the pit astride his horse.

(44) Iskandar, in India, receives the daughter of Kīd, the Indian king, together with presents from him, which include a philosopher, a physician, and a goblet.

(45) Fūr, the Indian king, killed in battle against Iskandar.

(46) Qaidāfah recognizes Iskandar disguised as his own ambassador, from a portrait of him in her possession. Qaidāfah, Queen of Barda', in the Maghrib, is seated on a gold throne, the back of which is ornamented with two gold birds. Before her, crowned, sits Iskandar, in a hall, the arcading of which is supported by pillars likewise embellished with gold birds. Both sovereigns wear brocade robes.

(47) Iskandar with his court listening to the speaking birds who are offering him counsel.

(48) Iskandar in the land of the talking trees.

(49) Iskandar in Babylon is shown the corpse of a newly-born child with the head of a lion, and hoofs; from this omen he knows that his end is near.

(50) Bābak, the feudal king of Pārs, summons before him a shepherd, who afterwards becomes Sāsān, father of Ardashīr, founder of the Sasanian dynasty. Bābak is seated, in a gold robe, on a throne, the back of which is ornamented with two gold birds.

(51) Ardavān, on horseback, surrounded by his sons. Ardashīr, a page in the house of this Parthian king, disputes with the king's son, who claims to have killed the wild ass shot by him. Ardavān, in a fury, sends Ardashīr to work in his stables.

(52) Ardashīr in blue brocade and a second person in gold are pouring molten metal from a cauldron to the bottom of a well, down the throat of the worm of Haftvād.

(53) Ardashīr, on horseback, and the hundred young men, a number of whom are playing polo, his own son among them.

(54) The Iranian army under Shāpūr besieging the city of the Arabian king Tāyir. The laminated plate armour and the white elephant are to be noted.

(55) An episode in the life of Bahrām Gūr. Tired by hunting he asks hospitality from a wealthy Jew Brāhām (on the left of the picture) who permits him to rest and sleep in the vestibule of his house.

(56) An Iranian cobbler, after having drunk three cups of wine, is riding one of Bahrām Gūr's yellow lions which has escaped from its cage; behind the lion in its iron collar is a man with a dagger.

(57) Bahrām Gūr lion-hunting with a retainer; the king is mounted and wears a golden head-dress and a blue brocade garment with an oblong front ornamented in the Chinese style.

(58) Bahrām Gūr kills a dragon, in whose belly is the body of a man whom it has devoured.

(59) Bahrām Gūr receives the Ambassador of the Qaiṣar.

(60) Bahrām Gūr, dressed in blue brocade, kills, in Hindustan, a unicorn with flames sprouting from its shoulders.

(61) Bahrām Gūr slaying the dragon.

(62) Bahrām Gūr, wearing a crown, kills a monkey-lion before the throne of Shangul, King of India, in whose presence he has arrived incognito. Shangul's face is black, while that of a maiden, enthroned at his side, is white.

(63) Fīrūz and his army on their way to fight with the Ephthalite army; and entrapped.

(64) Mazdak, suspended to a tree, has, by command of the Sasanian king Khusrau Nūshīrvān, been pierced with arrows. Five of his accomplices may also be seen, with their heads fixed in the ground.

(65) The Sasanian king Khusrau Nūshīrvān, as a soldier in the army, displaying his prowess with the bow and arrow.

(66) Buzurjmihr in the presence of King Nūshīrvān.

(67) Before Khusrau Nūshīrvān, who is seated on his throne, lie the bodies of the two young men who have drunk the poisoned drink, which was reported to have been prepared to poison the king.

(68) An episode mentioned in the story of the game of chess. Talhand, prince of Kashmir, lying dead before his war elephant; there are eight warriors, one of whom bears a banner. A man in a turban is acquainting Talhand's mother with the fact that her son perished in a fight for the crown with his brother Gau.

(69) Shāh Hurmuzd forces a treacherous high priest to eat a poisoned dish. He is seated on his throne in gold; before him are members of his court.

(70) The Khāqān of China arrives on a visit to Shāh Hurmuzd. The sovereigns are surrounded by members of their retinue; the Khāqān is wearing a plumed head-dress.

(71) Bahrām Chūbīn, attired in women's garments, with a spinning-wheel sent to him as a punishment by Hurmuzd. He is conversing with the chieftain of his army on the measures to be taken for rebellion.

(72) Hurmuzd, blinded by order of Bundūī and Gustahm, is guarded by four guards with bared swords.

(73) Khusrau Parvīz disputing his rights of kingship with the rebel Bahrām Chūbīn; the former is mounted on a white elephant and accompanied by guards and a horseman bearing the royal banner.

(74) Representatives of Khusrau Parvīz, describing the state of affairs in Persia before the Qaiṣar of Rūm, whose help they are asking.

(75) Khusrau Parvīz, in cloth of gold, just wedded to Maryam, daughter of the Qaiṣar of Rūm, amidst members of his court and the companions of the bride.

(76) Khusrau Parvīz, fleeing before Bahrām Chūbīn, saved by the timely help of the angel Surūsh (who rides a white horse) on a mountain.

(77) Bahrām Chūbīn is mortally wounded by Qalūn; the crown has fallen from his head, which is supported on a man's knees. Three people are seizing Qalūn.

(78) Gurdiyah, sister of Gurdūī, in armour, holding a lance, is demonstrating to the king Khusrau Parvīz and the women of his court the manner in which she fought with the army of Khāqān, after the death of Bahrām Chūbīn.

(79) Khusrau Parvīz, recumbent on a throne, in a dress of blue brocade, is answering the charges made against him by his son Shīrūyah through two envoys who present themselves before the King with their faces veiled, in accordance with the court etiquette.

(80) Khusrau II killed by Mihr-Hurmuzd.

[E. B. and M. M.]

105

JĀMIʿ AL-TAVĀRĪKH

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

PLATES

Four folios from a manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn's universal history entitled Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓl Allāh ibn Abī 'l-Khair of Hamadan was minister to two of the Ilkhāns of Persia, namely, Ghāzān and Uljā'itū, and composed his universal history within the first decade of the 8th (14th) century. He was put to death in 718 (1318).[1] The work was written in two volumes, vol. i, on the

[1] Rieu, p. 74.

history of the Mongols, and vol. ii, on the general history of the world. Some parts of vol. ii have been published, but the greater portion remains in manuscript. (See Preface to the third volume of *Tārīkh i Jahāngushāy*, G.M.S., xvi.)

Of the present folios no. 1 belongs to vol. i, and the other three to vol. ii.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. The written surface measures, nos. 1–3, 33·5 × 22·7 cm., no. 4, 37·3 × 26 cm. 33 lines enclosed within red and blue rules. The margins have been trimmed. 4 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing of nos. 1–3 is a very elegant *Naskh*, with rubrics in *Ṣuls*; that of no. 4 is slightly inferior. The paper is thin and firm; no. 4 is of a lighter tone than the rest. There are some mistakes in the writing.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The leaves form part of a manuscript now dispersed, on one of the leaves of which the date 718 (1318) was inscribed.[1] From the character of the script the manuscript may well be as early as this. The scribes are unknown.

ILLUSTRATIONS. The known illustrations of this manuscript are clearly by several different hands. The majority, though differing in quality, belong to one general type, and may perhaps be attributed to a Tabriz atelier of the late 14th century A.D. They were probably then executed much later than the text, and may even be later than the turn of the century. Several of the miniatures, like no. 1 in this collection, are in a different style from the rest; they show Far Eastern influence, and bear resemblances to those in the celebrated manuscript of the same work, dated 707–14 (1307–14), and belonging to the Edinburgh University Library and the Royal Asiatic Society, and to a few other existing miniatures. These, it has been suggested, possibly come from another manuscript, and there is some doubt whether they are contemporary, or were added later in imitation of the illustrations to the earlier manuscripts.

The drawing is not, as a rule, particularly accomplished—the figures are stiff and monotonously executed. The colouring is rather bright. Several features characteristic of Timurid work of the next century are easily discernible.

The subjects of the illustrations are as follows:

(1) Two princes, each accompanied by a courtier. There is no background, and the style resembles that of the miniatures in the earlier manuscript mentioned above. The dresses are green, blue, and pink. The black Chinese head-dresses and the garments are similar to those in some leaves of this work in the Bodleian.

(2) Farīdūn, enthroned, under a palm-tree, at his accession, with his three sons and courtiers.

(3) Gushtāsp, enthroned, with his sons Zarīr and Isfandiyār, standing, and Zardusht (Zoroaster) seated on a golden stool.

(4) Sultan Maḥmūd giving audience during his last illness. His sons, Masʿūd and Muḥammad, are seated, one on each side of him; the chamberlain stands at the door.

For reproductions of other miniatures from this manuscript see *Survey of Persian Art*, plates 829, 845, 847–9, and Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, plate 24B. [E. B. and J. V. S. W.]

[1] See Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, p. 35, and Kühnel, in *S.P.A.*, pp. 1838–9. Kühnel's view of the illustrations is accepted in general.

106

SALĀMAH IBN JANDAL

An illuminated folio

FOURTEENTH CENTURY (?)

A folio containing the title of the Arabic poems of Salāmah ibn Jandal

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Salāmah ibn Jandal, who flourished during the latter part of the sixth century A.D., is one of the most celebrated of the pre-Islamic Arabic poets.

This folio contains, on the obverse, the title, with the information that the text is in the recension of al-Aṣma'ī, other authorities having also been consulted.

On the reverse is a *Bismillah*, with a short genealogy of the poet.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. The written surface, within the gold and blue rules, measures 33 × 23·5 cm.

WRITING AND PAPER. The title on the obverse and the *Bismillah* are beautifully written in a large, bold, elongated *Ṣuls* in black with gold edging, and in gold *Naskh*. The genealogy is in a smaller *Naskh*. The paper is of a light beige tint.

DATE AND SCRIBE. Neither date nor scribe's name is given, but the appearance of the writing and illumination, and the note at the foot of the obverse page give some indication of the date. The note (dated 20th of Ẕū'l-Ḥijjah, 825) referred to records that the manuscript was given as a *waqf* by Fāris al-Dīn, treasurer of Malik al-Ashraf Barsbey, who was Mamluk Sultan of Egypt from 825 to 842 (A.D. 1422 to 1438). The manuscript was probably older still.

ILLUMINATION. The illumination, with the beauty of the writing and the relation of these two to each other, give this folio a high artistic rank among secular Arabic manuscripts. The complete manuscript must have been a superb specimen of book art. Though it was probably the product of a Syrian or Egyptian atelier, and is thus not strictly Persian, the close affinity of the illumination to Persian work may point to some Persian inspiration. The folio looks very like part of a magnificent Koran.

On the obverse there is a fine *'unvān* in blue, with gold and coloured arabesques, within a blue and gold border with a 'plaited' pattern; superimposed is part of the title, in gold, in three hatched cartouches. Over and under this the writing is enclosed in plain cartouches on an uncoloured ground with arabesques.

In the margin are two medallions in blue and gold. On the reverse, above, a gold and blue medallion and three small gold ones are arranged above the *Bismillah*. The upper third of the page is divided from the lower portion by a broad band containing the gold script in Kufic against a blue ground, flanked with large flower forms in red

and white. The lower part of the page contains nine circular gold medallions (three of them being linked). In the margin is another medallion. Five of the medallions on this page and the two marginal medallions on the obverse are of the *shujairah* or 'small tree' form, with lobed borders of blue and gold overlapping leaves. The circular gold centres contain lotus and other floral forms.

[A. J. A. and J. V. S. W.]

107

DĪVĀN OF QUMRĪ

DATED 710 (1310)

A complete copy of the Dīvān of Sirāj al-Dīn Qumrī

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. As clearly indicated by the dates of the persons to whom he dedicated the pieces in the *Dīvān*, Sirāj al-Dīn Qumrī flourished in the early 13th century; thus, one of the poet's pieces is dedicated to Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh (617–28 (1220–31)), and another to the famous Ṣūfī Saif al-Dīn Bākhazī (d. 658 (1259)). It is obvious therefore that this Qumrī is not to be identified with Abū'l-Qāsim Ziyād b. Muḥammad al-Qumrī al-Jurjānī who is stated by Muḥammad 'Aufī to have been the panegyrist of Shams al-Ma'ālī Qābūs b. Vashmgīr (d. 403 (1012), see *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ii, p. 19, and cf. E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii, p. 94). Neither is he to be identified with the Sirāj al-Dīn Qumrī of Qazvin who enjoyed the patronage of Sulṭān Abu Sa'īd the Īlkhān (716–36 (1316–36)) and was a rival of Salmān Sāvajī (d. 779 (1378)) as related by Daulat-shāh, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā*, p. 234, cf. Ethé, *India Office Catalogue*, i, col. 472. No other copy of the *Dīvān* appears to be preserved.

Following Persian tradition the manuscript starts with the *qaṣīdahs*, the first of which (fol. 2*b*) are dedicated to praise of Allah and to a description of winter and the boon of fire. Persons in whose honour the poet has composed *qaṣīdahs* include Saif al-Dīn al-Bākharzī (fol. 9), Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Dahistānī (fol. 12*b*), Ḥusām al-Dīn Shīr-savār (fol. 22*b*), Ṣadr Tāj al-Dīn (fol. 23), Ṣadr Abū'l-Faẓl (fol. 24*b*), al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam Fakhr al-Daulah Dābū (fol. 25), Ṣadr Sayyid al-Vuzarā' Sharaf al-Dīn (fol. 27*b*), Ṣadr Sayyid al-Vuzarā' Jamāl al-Dīn (fol. 31), Ṣadr Vaḥīd al-Dīn (fol. 32), al-Ṣāḥib al-A'ẓam Imād al-Daulah (fol. 33), Ṣāḥib Kamāl al-Dīn 'Alī (fol. 34), al-Ṣadr al-Ajall Nuṣrat al-Dīn (fol. 35*b*), Malik al-Sādah 'Alā al-Dīn (fol. 36*b*), and Ṣadr Shihāb al-Dīn (fol. 38). On fol. 38*b* is a reply to a *qiṭ'ah* by Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl; this is followed by *qaṣīdahs* in honour of Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh (fol. 39*b*), his brother Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn (fol. 40*b*), Sulṭān Tīmūr Shāh (fol. 41), Nuṣrat al-Dīn (fol. 42), Ṣadr Qivām al-Dīn and Ṣadr Shihāb al-Dīn (fol. 46), Ṣadr Fakhr al-Dīn (fol. 46*b*), al-Malik al-'Ādil Tāj al-Dīn Abū Kardī (fol. 47*b*), Ḥusām al-Dīn Ardashīr (fol. 48), Malik al-'Ulamā' Zain al-Dīn (ibid.), Sulṭān Sābiq al-Dīn (fol. 50), and Malik Ḥusām al-Dīn (fol. 51). Then come some *musammāṭs*, one of which sings the praises of Ṣāḥib Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kātib (fol. 57*b*), while others celebrate Fakhr al-Dīn al-Dahistānī (fol. 63*b*), Nāṣir al-Dīn Malik-shāh (fol. 64*b*), and

Fakhr al-Dīn Dābū (fol. 67). On fol. 70 a section of *marṣiyahs* commences, for Tāj al-Dīn Ṣāḥib (fol. 70), Ṣāḥib Jamāl al-Dīn (fol. 71*b*), Fakhr al-Daulah (fol. 72), Sharaf al-Dīn Falakī al-Shirvānī (ibid.), Ṣadr Auḥad al-Dīn (fol. 73). Another section of laudatory *qaṣīdahs* begins on fol. 74*b*, which runs into a medley of *ghazals* and *qiṭ'ahs*. A heading *Qasamiyyāt* (oath-poems) on fol. 113 introduces a collection of three short poems each beginning with an adjuration to God. Fol. 113*b* introduces a section of *rubā'īs*, followed by *hajviyyāt* (fol. 127). On fol. 136 comes a short prose preface to a *maṣnavī* poem entitled *Kār-nāmah* dedicated to Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Katib. The *Dīvān* ends on fol. 161*b*; fol. 162 contains a poem by Sa'di and other poems.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 23·1 × 15·8 cm.; the written surface measures 17·5 × 10·8 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines; 162 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The manuscript is written in an old *Naskh* within red-ink border-lines. The paper is thick, rough, and unpolished.

BINDING. The outside of the cover is of brown leather, with a flap, gilt, and with a blind-tooled centre; the inside is also of brown leather.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript was completed in Jumādā I 710 (September–October 1310) by 'Umar ibn Muḥammad Lālā Ibn al-Marvazī.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. There are no miniatures; the titles are in red script.

[A. J. A.]

108

TAQVĪM AL-ṢIḤḤAH

DATED 4732 (1332)

PLATES

A treatise on hygiene, &c., by Ibn Buṭlān

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Taqvīm al-Ṣiḥḥah, or the 'Calendar of Health', is a work on food values and diet drawn up in the form of synoptical tables, translated into Persian by an unknown translator (probably of the 7th century A.H.), from the Arabic work of the same title by Abū'l-Ḥasan Mukhtār ibn Ḥasan (Ḥusain) ibn 'Abdūn ibn Sa'dūn (Sa'd) ibn Buṭlān, sometimes also referred to as Ibn 'Abdūn, a well-known physician of the 5th century and a native of 'Irāq, who died *circa* 455–60 (1063–8).[1] Of his *Taqvīm al-Ṣiḥḥah*, the original of the present work, there are four manuscript copies in the British Museum, three of which are magnificent 6th- and 7th-century copies (Or 2793, Or 1347, and Or 5590). Certain linguistic peculiarities of the present translation suggest for its date the middle of the 7th century, just after the establishment of the Mongols in Iran, a time when such books were very popular and when numerous

[1] See for the authorities on his biography and the list of his existing works C. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i, 483; Suppl. i, 885; Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ii, 396, no. 3498; iii, 229–30, nos. 5087 and 5088.

translations of this kind were made into, and original books written in, Persian. A comparison between the translation and the original clearly shows that the scribe committed errors in transcription; moreover, the translator himself has in several cases on each page misunderstood and mistranslated, or left untranslated, Arabic terms and words of the original, or carelessly left out passages or interpolated sentences, all of which points mark the period of decadence in the literature of Iran.

The work is divided into forty chapters, the subjects treated beginning with foods and drinks and ending with sports, seasons, buildings, &c.; particulars are given for each item, in fifteen columns, such as name, nature, degree, the benefit, the harm, most appropriate seasons and localities, the authorities and their opinions. The right and left margins are devoted to sub-headings and astrological verdicts respectively. Whereas the Arabic exemplars are arranged so that every two confronting pages contain the preliminary discussions of each chapter and a table of seven items, the Persian translation in the present manuscript is so done that every two pairs of pages correspond to one pair of the original, with the preliminary argument divided between the two halves. That the title of this translation is the same as that of the original is shown from another exemplar of the Persian translation in the Upsala University (see C. J. Tornberg's *Catalogue*, 1849, p. 239, no. 358), which bears the title. The Upsala manuscript is dated A.H. 852 (120 years later than the present manuscript) and its commencement agrees with the second line on fol. 1 of our manuscript, and it is drawn up, like the original, on seven itemed double-pages.

The preface, which is fuller than the original, is followed by a table of contents in a circle on fol. 2. Beginning: .... خویش و آن برج اسدست و گاه در وبال و آن مقابل اسدست
One folio is lost at the beginning, and the first nine leaves must be rearranged in this order: 1, 2, 6, 7, 5, 3, 4, 8, 9.

From the words اینست فصل در آخر کتاب کی بخطّ خویش نوشته بوذ مختار بن عبدون رحمه الله at the beginning of the concluding discourse, it can be assumed that the translator used a copy in which this discourse was in the autograph of the author.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 29·7 × 19·8 cm.; the written surface generally measures 22·3 × 14·8 cm.; some pages are divided horizontally into 5 or 6 sections of from 3 to 5 lines of black script with a title in gold *Sulṣ* in the second section, others into vertical and oblique tables of red and black horizontal script; 83 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is peculiar *Naskh* inclining towards *Ta'līq*, enclosed within red rulings. The titles are in gold or purple letters. The colophon is remarkable, being written in a large cursive *Sulṣ*. The paper is thin but strong and semi-polished, somewhat eaten at the edges.

BINDING. The outside of the cover is of light brown leather, with flap, and with a tripartite sunk medallion with pendants in red on a gold ground; the inside is of plain scarlet leather.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript was copied and decorated by Ḥusain ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Vā'iẓ al-Ḥasanī, who has dated his work 4 Rabī' II 732 (4 January 1332).

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. There was apparently a large central medallion within a border on fol. 1, but the folio has been torn out and all that remains of the decoration is its impression on the opposite page. There are numerous gold circles, roughly executed, throughout the manuscript.

SEALS AND INSCRIPTIONS. On the final folio are some effaced seals.

[E. B. and M. M.]

109

KULLIYYĀT OF SA'DĪ

VARIOUS DATES, FROM ABOUT A.D. 1300

An early manuscript of the Kulliyyāt, or complete works of Sa'dī of Shīrāz

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Sa'dī (Musharrif al-Dīn ibn Muṣliḥ al-Dīn) the most popular of the Persian poets, died, according to the best authority, in 694 (1294–5), but according to others in 691 or 690,[1] at a great age.

The present manuscript[2] contains the following: Sa'dī's preface; the five sermons, fol. 6; the four *Risālahs*, fol. 20; *Gulistān*, fol. 25; *Ṭayyibāt*, fol. 86*b*; *Badā'i'*, fol. 146*b*; the Panegyrics, fol. 170*b*; *Būstān*, fol. 195*b*; the *Ṣāḥibiyyah*, fol. 240*b*; the *Tarjī'āt*, fol. 245*b*; the elegies, fol. 250; the satirical sermon, fol. 253; the licentious poems, fol. 255; the short poems, fol. 263*b*.

(*See under* 'Date and Scribe'.)

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 24·6 × 17 cm.; the written surface varies from 19·5 to 22 cm. × 10 to 14 cm.; 21 to 27 lines to a page; 290 folios.

BINDING. The cover is of plain leather, later than the text.

WRITING AND PAPER. Both the original and the subsequent portions are written in good *Naskh*. The verse is in two columns. The headings are written large, in red or black. Red rulings. The paper is polished and opaque.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript is written in five different hands, belonging to at least four different periods: (1) the oldest leaves were written after 683,[3] but quite possibly within the last ten years of the 7th century. (2) The portion chronologically next to this is from about A.H. 720–30, and the *sarlauḥs* and *'unvāns* may belong to this period also. Probably at this time the original manuscript had lost many of its leaves, which were supplied by the second scribe. It is possible, however, that the scribes of both portions were contemporaries, who completed the manuscript by working in turns, some time between A.H. 720 and 730 (3) to (5). These portions consist of sections or odd leaves which have been substituted for lost parts; portion 3, about A.H. 1000, and portions 4 and 5, later than 1200. To the scribe of portion 4 is due the addition of an

[1] Rieu, p. 595.

[2] See under nos. 123 *post* for a description of the complete works.

[3] Shams al-Dīn Juvainī, killed in Sha'bān, 683, is spoken of as dead on fol. 244.

introduction by 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Bīsitūn.[1] This is out of place in this manuscript.

The list of folios belonging to these five portions, with their present foliation, is as follows:

1. 25*b*–31; 86*b*–105; 170–94; 198–238 (with repairs in the same hand as that of portion 3); 240–50; 264–81.
2. 7–17; 25; 32–55; 57–86; 106–69; 251–63; 282–8.
3. 3, 5, and 6; 195–7; 289 and 290.
4. 1 and 2; 56; 239.
5. 4; 18–24.

Some peculiarities of this manuscript may be noted:

1. In the *Gulistān* some well-established and certainly authentic passages are omitted, such as the praise of Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Abū Naṣr, the Vazīr of the reigning Atābak, and the verse recording A.H. 656 as the year of composition.[2] This omission points to the manuscript having been copied from another, probably the first, recension of the *Gulistān*.

2. The same applies to the *Būstān*, where many lines, of which the genuineness cannot be doubted, are omitted from the present manuscript (for example, p. 11, l. 15, to p. 12, l. 3; p. 14, ll. 7–14, and p. 17, ll. 1–5, of the edition mentioned in note 1).

3. The odes are not arranged in alphabetical order, either of the first lines (the oldest kind of alphabetical order in the case of Sa'dī, *cf.* the B.M. MS. Add. 25,812, or of the rhymes, as is customary. Here the *Ṭayyibāt* are kept in the order designed by Sa'dī.

From this same copy it can be ascertained that Sa'dī compiled this collection of his best odes after the death of the Atābak Abū Bakr ibn Sa'd (who died in Jumādā II, 658), and during the rule of his son, Muḥammad, who died in the beginning of the year 661. The opening poems of the *Ṭayyibāt* are: (1) in the Name of God; (2) in the praise of Muḥammad, the prophet; (3) in praise of Turkān Khātūn; (4) in praise of Atābak Muḥammad; (5) in praise of a queen, probably Ābish Khātūn;[3] and (6) elegy on Sa'd's death.

ILLUMINATION. There are double-page *sarlauḥs* on foll. 25–26*b*, 86–87*b*, 170–171*b*, and 240–241*b*, triangular ornaments on foll. 194*b* and 244, and a number of *'unvāns*. These contain inscriptions, usually on gold grounds, with floral and other ornamental motifs, including 'plaited' vertical bands. Some bear traces of regilding. The illumination is not very elaborately executed, in gold, blue, red, and green, the colours being rather thinly laid on. [M. M.]

110

SHĀH-NĀMAH

PARTS OF A MANUSCRIPT DATED 741 (1340/1)

A fragmentary manuscript of the Shāh-nāmah of Firdausī

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. These disconnected portions of a manuscript of the Epic comprise about one-fourth of the original total. The text starts with part of

[1] See later, under no. 113.

[2] See p. 9, l. 10, to p. 10, l. 13, of the Persian Ministry of Education's official edition of the *Gulistān*, and p. 12, ll. 12 and 13.

[3] Cf. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Mamdūḥin-i Sa'dī*, p. 34.

the archaic preface of the *Shāh-nāmah* of which only two folios have been preserved here. This archaic preface was the one composed in the 5th or 6th century for the work of Firdausī, but it embodies also the introduction to the prose Book of Kings composed in 345 and 346 (956 and 957) by order of Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq, the Governor of Tūs. It was this prose work which Firdausī rendered into verse, and the introduction in question is all that remains of it.[1] The preface commences with the history of the *Kalīla wa Dimna* and Rūdakī's rendering of this into Persian verse, of the Chinese painters who illustrated it, and of how Abū Manṣūr, desiring that some book should be written in his name, requested his minister to gather together four learned men in order that they should compose in Persian the account of the deeds and exploits of the ancient kings and heroes of Iran. In the present manuscript the accounts of Firdausī's life and of the circumstances attending the writing of the Epic and of his satire on Sultan Maḥmūd, are all missing. There follows a list of the Pīshdādī kings, preceded by one of 'Muḥammad's Dynasty', added to fill a blank page. It is unnecessary to describe the remainder of the text in detail.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 37·5 × 30 cm.; the written surface generally measures 28·5 × 25 cm.; 6 columns of 30 lines; 85 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a clear *Naskh* enclosed within red lines. The headings are in red and black. The text is written on a soft-sized cotton paper, of a biscuit tone; the edges have been torn and repaired.

BINDING. The cover, which is of excellent craftsmanship, belonging originally probably to a contemporary manuscript of the Koran, is of blind-tooled and gilt leather, ornamented with intersecting rectilinear patterns within a border of gold lines. This style occurs in Persia in the early 14th century and in Egypt in the Mamlūk period.

DATE AND SCRIBE. Other portions of this manuscript are in existence in various collections. One portion, formerly belonging to M. H. Vever, contains a colophon with the date A.H. 741 (1341) and a dedication to Qivām al-Dīn Ḥasan, Vazīr of Fars, the friend and patron of the poet Ḥāfiẓ.

The scribe is not known.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. On fol. 1*b* are two *sarlauḥs* finely illuminated in gold with lotus and other floral and geometrical patterns, and 'plaited' ornament in the side margins; on the next page is another in the same style.

There are fourteen pictures, designed as narrow bands, running across the full breadth of the text.

They are of a rare and peculiar type, and are to be associated with those in another manuscript of the epic of the same style at Leningrad (dated A.H. 733), and with one in the Top-qapu Serai Library in Istanbul (dated A.H. 731); with a manuscript (undated) of a Persian novel, *Kitāb i Samak 'Ayyār*, in the Bodleian (which may, however, be earlier), and a few others. It seems probable that all were executed at Shiraz, the capital of Fars.

[1] As the oldest extant composition in prose in New-Persian, i.e., after the Arab invasion, this introduction is very important. It has been edited by Mr. Qazvini in the second volume of the *Bīst Maqālah*.

The most striking feature of these illustrations is the characteristic red or ochre (sometimes gold) backgrounds,[1] originally perhaps derived from ancient wall-paintings. Or there may be a curtained or architectural background.

The drawing is rather primitive, suggestive of folk-art: not, however, lacking decorative skill or dramatic effectiveness. Far-Eastern influence, direct or indirect, is discernible in the cloud forms (sometimes employed in battle scenes to portray the dust of conflict), in certain floral motives, and in the cone-shaped mountains.

Nevertheless these miniatures are predominantly Iranian in type, preserving old indigenous traditions in their general design, in the human figures, and, perhaps, in the tree forms.

The palate is simple, the colours being red, green, and slate-blue, with gold and occasionally magenta. The pigments are not of the highest quality. Some of the faces are touched with red.[2]

The individual pictures are as follows:

(1) Fol. 4*b*. (Original number fol. 47.) (This painting in 14th-century 'Tabrīz' style has been painted over the text at a later period.) Near a doorway draped with blue hangings a man, perhaps the author, is presenting a book to an enthroned sovereign (? Maḥmūd of Ghazna).

(2) Fol. 5. (Original number 51.) Rustam before King Kai Kā'ūs. The latter has on a blue brocade robe with gold flower-pattern. Ochre background.

(3) Fol. 17*b*. (Original number 106.) Rustam, on horse-back, is dragging off with a lasso Kāmūs, who has fallen from his mount and is imploring the help of his companions. There is a red background.

(4) Fol. 21. (Original number 123.) Kai Khusrau's feast in honour of Rustam, who is requested to go to Tūrān to save Bīzhan from imprisonment; both the king and the paladin are seated on thrones. Musicians are playing before them. Ochre background.

(5) Fol. 23*b*. (Original number 136*b*.) Gīv, son of Gūdarz, fighting against Lahhāk and Farshīdvard. Red background.

(6) Fol. 24*b*. (Original number 148*b*.) Kai Khusrau fighting three of Afrāsiyab's Turanian horsemen. Kai Khusrau is wearing a helmet with circular ear-pieces. Ochre background.

(7) Fol. 37*b*. The horseman Zarīr, son of Luhrāsp, in combat with Bīdirafsh the Turanian. Both warriors are mounted and armed with lance and shield and wear imbricated breastplates and helmets with heavy ear-pieces. Red background.

(8) Fol. 41*b*. Isfandiyār, semi-nude and bound to four pillars, by order of King Gushtāsp, his father, is set at liberty from his fetters. Before him are Jāmāsp, who was authorized to release him, and the man who forged his bonds; one is in red, the other in a yellow dress with a large floral design. There is a gold ground.

[1] Some of the backgrounds lack this colouring.

[2] On this type of book-illustration see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, pp. 31–3; Stchoukine, *La Peinture iranienne*, pp. 93–4; Kühnel in *Survey of Persian Art*, p. 1836; and de Lorey in *Revue des arts asiatiques*, tome xii, fasc. i (1938). M. de Lorey, who gives a list of the known 'Shiraz' manuscripts of this period, would see in these miniatures various elements borrowed (or, perhaps, re-borrowed) from Central-Asian models. It was Stchoukine who first suggested a common Shiraz origin for this group. See, however, note on the scribe of no. 103 in this collection. See also E. Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art* (Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 28 et seq.

(9) Fol. 60*b*. (Original number, 213*b*.) Three ladies, seated, two of them spinning. One has on a dress adorned with large gold ornaments. The third, Haftvād's daughter, has found an apple, in which she discovers a worm, which she tends and whose history is connected with that of the first Sasanian King Ardashīr I. The hill and tree-forms are to be noted. There is a gold ground.

(10) Fol. 71. (Original number, 227.) King Yazdigird I has been killed by a kick from a white horse and lies stretched on the ground near a spring. Three female mourners are tearing their hair by a tree, wherein perches a large red bird. Red background.

(11) Fol. 72. (Original number, 229.) Bahrām Gūr enthroned, with five courtiers and six attendants. The background is formed of red curtains.

(12) Fol. 83. (Original number, 274.) Nūshīrvān, enthroned, receiving the ambassador of the Qaiṣar of Rūm, with courtiers, seated, and attendants. Ochre curtain background.

(13) Fol. 84. (Original number, 284*b*.) Bahrām Chūbīn, in a brocade dress with flower pattern, is kneeling, distaff in hand, before a spinning-wheel, in a draped tent, telling six of his officers, seated before him, of the insult King Hurmuzd has offered him by sending him these objects.

(14) Fol. 85*b*. (Original number, 286*b*.) Āyīn Gushasp, an Iranian noble at the court of Hurmuzd, lies headless, in a tent decorated with a floral pattern. He is dressed in cloth-of-gold. The murderer is making off with the head. On the branches of trees perch large red birds against a white sky. The background is not coloured.

SEALS AND INSCRIPTIONS. On fol. 3 and on the end-page is the seal of Ikhlāṣ ibn Muḥammad ibn Ikhlāṣ Khān and the date A.H. 1101 (1689/90).

[E. B. and M. M.]

III

SHĀH-NĀMAH

14TH CENTURY

Ten folios (seven containing miniatures) from a manuscript[1] *of the Shāh-nāmah of Firdausī, copied during the 14th century*

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. These leaves form parts of the celebrated manuscript, now dispersed, usually known from the French dealer who dispersed the folios, as the 'Demotte' *Shāh-nāmah*, which has been the subject of an extensive literature.[2] Descriptions of the individual miniatures are given below; here it may be remarked that on palaeographical grounds as well as in certain other details it appears possible that the folios come originally from not one but two distinct manuscripts, both

[1] Or perhaps two manuscripts; see under next heading.

[2] See *post*, under 'Illumination and Illustrations'.

of the 14th century.[1] Foll. 2, 3, 4, 5 are by the earlier hand; foll. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 are by the later hand. In the case of fol. 1, the miniature appears to belong to the first manuscript, and to have been superimposed on a page of the second manuscript. Fol. 4 is fragmentary, the miniature having been extracted; attached to it is a leaf (fol. 4*a*) from a much later manuscript having blanks in the text. Blanks have been left in the four outside columns of fol. 7, apparently for the addition of miniatures.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. The written surface measures 40 × 29·2 cm. approximately. 31 lines in 6 columns within gold rulings. The leaves have been set in later margins.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is typical *Naskh* of the 14th century; the earlier hand writes occasionally the characteristic *dhāl* (for *dāl*) after vowels. The paper is of good quality, and polished; somewhat stained in places.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript is undated and unsigned. It is generally held to have been compiled between 1325 and 1375, see the literature quoted below.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The gold *Ṣuls* headings are in panels, some of which are simply ornamented, with various patterns, in gold or colours.

On the general character of the miniatures much might be said, but they have already been the subject of extensive criticism.[2] They are usually dated somewhere in the period 1330–50 though some, even if not later additions to the manuscript, show traces of later work. They are clearly by several hands. Taken as a whole they are unique in Persian painting. Remarkable for their power and vigour, they show that the assimilation of the lessons of Chinese art has been achieved in a new synthesis, which served as a fresh starting place for further development. Lacking, both in their designs and in their bold strong colouring, marked by a liberal use of dark pigments, the refinement of the later art, they have a rhythm and amplitude which was never afterwards equalled. Nearly all are painted within rectangles of different sizes, but they are not disposed in the text in a uniform manner. The subjects of the separate paintings are as follows:

(1) Farīdūn leading the tyrant Ẓaḥḥak captive.

(2) Farīdūn, who has changed himself into a dragon, tests the prowess of his three sons.

(3) The murder of Īraj by his brothers Salm and Tūr.

(4) A Court scene; Zāl's homage before Shāh Minūchihr.

(5) The Sage Mihrān foretells the coming of Iskandar to King Kaid of Hind.

(6) Bahrām Bahrāmiyān enthroned.

(7) Khusrau Anūshīrvān dictating a letter to the Khāqān of Chīn.

[A. J. A. and J. V. S. W.]

[1] See, however, *S.P.A.*, pp. 1835–6 where it is suggested that the discrepancies may be due to the leaves being extracted from different parts of the same manuscript.

[2] See *B.W.G.*, pp. 14, 37–8; E. de Lorey, 'L'École de Tabriz', in *Rev. des arts asiatiques*, ix (1935); Stchoukine, *La Peinture iranienne sous les derniers 'Abbâsides et les Îl-Khâns* (Bruges, 1936) pp. 85 foll.; Kühnel in *S.P.A.*, pp. 1835-6. All the 58 known miniatures in this manuscript were briefly described, in the order in which they occurred in the text of the poem, by Doris Brian in *Ars Islamica*, vol. vi (1939), pp. 97–112. To the same number Mr. Eric Schroeder contributed an interesting article on 14th century Persian painting, with particular reference to the probable source of these miniatures, with a careful examination of costume. He would place them tentatively, in the third quarter of the 14th century, and, like Stchoukine, but more explicitly, he attempts to distinguish the work of the various artists.

112

DĪVĀN OF ʿATĪQĪ

15TH CENTURY

A manuscript of the Dīvān of Jalāl al-Dīn al-ʿAtīqī

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The title and name of the author of this rare *Dīvān* appear in the frontispiece as follows: 'This is the *Dīvān* of the model of the gnostics, the example of the ascetics, the support of those who seek the truth . . . al-Shaikh Jalāl al-ʿAtīqī, may Allah refresh him with the elixir of His blessing and clothe him in the garments in His clemency.'

The author was a native of Tabriz, and died, according to Taqī Kāshī[1] in 744 (1343).

Following Persian tradition, the volume begins (fol. 3*b*) with the *qaṣīdahs* arranged in alphabetical order of rhyming; the first are in praise of Allah, the next of the Sultan 'Muḥammad the Second who knows no peer' and who is none other than the Mongol Sulṭān Uljā'itū Muḥammad Khurbandah (the first Muḥammad mentioned by the poet being clearly the Prophet). This ruler's name recurs twice in these *qaṣīdahs*, once (fol. 22*b*) under the form Īljātū, with the title 'The King, the Sulṭān of the Sulṭāns of the world', and once (fol. 29) as Īljātū, 'The last of Kings of Kings, the greatest Sulṭān'. Some of the *qaṣīdahs* are dedicated to this ruler's son, Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khān (foll. 19, 28, and 34) and some to Ghāzān Khān Maḥmūd, Uljā'itū's brother, who reigned from A.H. 694 to 703 (fol. 22). Other *qaṣīdahs* embody the praises of one Saʿd al-Daulah va'l-Dīn; of one Tāj al-Daulah va'l-Dīn, probably Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī Shāh, the famous minister of Uljā'itū (foll. 13), and of Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn (foll. 13*b*, 15*b*, 28*b*, 33)—probably the son of the celebrated Rashīd al-Dīn, author of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh*—minister to the last princes of the Mongol dynasty, who, notwithstanding that Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khān had murdered his father, made vain attempts to stop the decline of the dynasty, but could not prevent its fall. Some of the *qaṣīdahs* lack the names of the persons in praise of whom they were composed, instead of which a blank space is left in the middle of a line or a 'So-and-So of the religion' is written. Such verses occur on foll. 11, 14*b*, 17*b*, 19, 24, 26, 26*b*, 27, 52, and on so many more that we are led to assume that, at a time when flattery was a necessity, the author depended for his living upon these *qaṣīdahs*.

Next comes a medley of pieces—lesser *qaṣīdahs* and other verses (fol. 36*b*), *tarjīʿāt* (really *tarkīb-bands*) (fol. 37), *muqaṭṭaʿāt* (fol. 38) in alphabetical sequence, one being a curious piece embodying a sentence inscribed on the head-gear of Sulṭān Muḥammad (probably Uljā'itū); a piece written in reply to a *qaṣīdah* of Ṣāḥib-i aʿẓam ʿAlā al-Dīn of Hind; a piece on the occasion of the birth of Abū Saʿīd (fol. 42), &c. Then come the Arabic and mixed verses (fol. 48*b*); then the *ghazals* in alphabetical sequence of rhyming (fol. 50*b*); the quatrains (fol. 180) similarly arranged; the *maṣnavīs* (fol. 187*b*) including one in praise of one Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Masʿūd Shāh. The end of the *Dīvān* is imperfect.

[1] See A. Sprenger, *Cat. of the Arabic, Persian, and Hindustany MSS. of . . . Oudh*, vol. i, Calcutta, 1854, p. 18.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 32·5 × 21 cm.; the written surface measures 23·7 × 15·9 cm.; generally 2 columns of 37 lines; 190 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a clear *Nastaʿlīq* of the mid-15th century, enclosed between gold rulings. A clear distinction is maintained throughout between پ and ب and between ڃ and ج. The paper is slightly polished.

BINDING. The outside of the cover is of brown leather with a blind-tooled central medallion with two smaller medallions, above and below; the inside is of green paper.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript was probably completed some time in the mid-15th century, and the name of Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Sulṭān Murād, for whom it was made, can still be detected on the *shamsah* on fol. 2*b* in spite of the attempt to erase the dedication. If this identification is correct, it is fairly certain that the Sultān Muḥammad was the Ottoman Sultan 'The Conquerer' of Constantinople (A.D. 1451–81). The scribe is unknown. Perhaps the manuscript was executed by Persian craftsmen for the Conqueror, but it may be earlier. It has much of the appearance of a Turkish production.

ILLUMINATION. On foll. 2*b* and 3 is a double-page frontispiece exquisitely illuminated in blue, gold, and black; at the centre of the decoration on each page is a rosette or *shamsah* and in the corners are curvilinear triangles. The wreath round the *shamsah* is filled with rich ornament of delicately-painted foliage forms. The titles of the patron for whom this manuscript was illuminated were in the right-hand *shamsah* on fol. 2*b* but are almost effaced; in the left-hand one on fol. 3, however, may still be read the description of the *Dīvān* inscribed on a blue ground amid decorative foliage in a fine gold *Naskh* in the form quoted above. On fol. 3*b* are two perfectly executed *sarlauhs* of different dimensions—a large one in the body of the page, a smaller one in the margin in which the text continues; they exactly match the frontispiece in style. There are floral corner-pieces and motifs throughout.

[E. B. and M. M.]

113

KULLIYYĀT OF SAʿDĪ

LATE 14TH CENTURY

A manuscript of part of the Collected Works of Saʿdī (cf. no. 109)

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The manuscript opens with the introduction of ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Bīsutūn. This admirer of the works of Saʿdī compiled, in the year 726 (1326), an index of the first lines of the odes in alphabetical order, as well as a list of the contents of the whole collection. Eight years later, he compiled a revised index of the odes arranged according to the alphabetical order of the rhyme-letters. There is no evidence that he re-arranged the odes according to his own indexes, and while some old manuscripts, or manuscripts derived from older originals, preserve the original arrangement of the odes, most manuscripts and all printed copies have these odes in the alphabetical order of the rhyme-letters. A few manuscripts retain an arrangement of the odes in the alphabetical order of the first lines (see description of no. 109).

Ibn Bīsutūn's introduction is nearly always reproduced in the form composed in A.H. 734, but the present manuscript has the first recension of the introduction. Here it is stated that the collection comprises twenty-three books and tracts (sixteen books and seven tracts). Of these only six tracts and five books remain, the rest having been removed. These are (1) Sa'dī's Preface, fol. 4; (2) the Five Sermons, fol. 7; (3) Ṣāḥib i Dīvān's Questions, fol. 20*b*; (4) the Tract on Reason and Love; (5) the Tract on Counsel to Kings, otherwise known as *Ṣāḥibiyyah*, fol. 23*b*; (6) the three Stories, fol. 29*b*. The Satirical Sermon, which, according to ibn Bīsutūn, should form the seventh tract, and should have appeared after the sixth, was, evidently, amalgamated by the scribe with the thirteenth book, the Licentious. Between foll. 32 and 33, the two first books, the *Gulistān* and the *Būstān*, are missing, as shown by the list of the sixteen books on fol. 32*b*. The next book, the Arabic Panegyrics and Lyrics, beginning on fol. 33*b*, bears the enumeration 'Third'. The fourth book, the Persian Panegyrics, begins on fol. 41, with no *'unvān*; book 5, Elegies, fol. 65*b*; book 6, *Mulamma'āt* (the Bilingual Poems) and *Muṣallaṣāt* (the Trilingual Poems), fol. 69*b*, although the heading appears on fol. 72; book 7, *Tarjīs*, fol. 74.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 28·9 × 17·3 cm.; written surface 20·2 × 11·8 cm.; 1 and 2 columns of 25 lines; 78 folios.

BINDING. The manuscript is bound in green and grey marbled boards; crimson leather edges with gold lining. Inside, yellow paper.

WRITING AND PAPER. The script is a clear *Naskh*, within blue and red rules. Firm, polished paper, some staining; holes have been eaten in the centre of the pages, except for the earlier folios.

DATE AND SCRIBE. This copy may be dated about A.D. 1380.

ILLUMINATION. The manuscript opens with two fully decorated pages, with white *Ṣuls* titles above and below on gold panels, titles of poems in eight circles set between a larger and a smaller circle with gold flower-designs in the interstices. There are three marginal ornaments on fol. 2. On the next two pages are prayers written in white *Ṣuls* above and below on gold panels, fifteen lines of script, marginal plaited ornament; similar head-pieces on foll. 33*b*, 65*b*, small titles in red or black. The ornament should be compared with that in nos. 109 and 110 *ante*. [M. M.]

114

SHĀH-NĀMAH

PART OF A MANUSCRIPT DATED 800 (1397)

PLATES

A fragmentary manuscript of the Shāh-nāmah of Firdausī

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The beginning is missing and the text is in considerable disorder. Fol. 1 belongs to the beginning of the second half, between foll. 99 and 100. Many leaves are lost; but the book may be rearranged thus: foll. 41–50;

2–11; 14–36; 131; 37; 38–40; 51–99 (one folio lost between 65 and 66); 1; 100–17 (lacuna between 112 and 113); 118–30; 132–229 (the end).

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 25·8 × 16·8 cm.; written surface: 20 × 11·3 cm.; 6 columns of 33 lines; 229 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The script is a mixture of *Nasta'līq* and *Ta'līq*, minutely written. The point used over the ى after a vowel, is to be noted. The paper is of a dark ivory tone, thin, and polished.

BINDING. The outside of the cover is of dark-brown leather with blind-tooled centre, corners, and border, and a little gold lining; the inside, which is much damaged, is of black leather with centre and corners of tracery over gold.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript is not dated, but it is of the same size and in the same style as a British Museum manuscript of the *Garshāsp-nāmah* and other poems (Or. 2780[1]) transcribed by Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Qārī in the year A.H. 800 (1397). The two manuscripts must have originally formed parts of a larger work.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. On fol. 1*b* is a *sarlauḥ*, mainly in blue and gold, with a little black, embodying Cufic script on a white ground, executed with great delicacy. This type of ornament, in which distinctive baroque medallions and minute naturalistic floral forms in gold, usually on a blue ground, are characteristic, is closely paralleled in a manuscript of Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī's *Ẓafar-nāmah* at the British Museum dated 807 (1405) (Or. 2833) and copied in Shiraz, as well as in other Shiraz manuscripts of the early 15th century, and suggests that city as the place of origin of this manuscript. (Cf. no. 123 below, and see Ettinghausen in *Survey of Persian Art*, p. 1961 and Plates 941 and 943.) The titles are in gold on cloud forms.

The paintings, with those in the British Museum manuscript referred to above, are apparently by one hand. They are of great value for the study of early Timurid painting. The designs, which extend into the margins, are characterized by vigour, spaciousness, and economy of drawing. The figures are large in scale.

Many of the typical features of later Timurid painting appear, such as the high horizon and the diversely-coloured rocks. The colouring is rich and good, gold, in two tones, being freely used. The sky is always golden.

The individual paintings are as follows:

(1) Fol. 14*b*. The Fire Ordeal of the Iranian Prince Siyāvush. From a loggia in one of the palace windows the wife of Kai Kā'ūs, Sūdābah, who has accused Siyāvush of proposing love to her, watches her stepson emerge from the flames. Two of the people of the palace prostrate themselves before him. The hill background is mauve.

(2) Fol. 38. An episode in the battles of the Iranians against the Turanians to revenge the murder of Siyāvush by Afrāsiyāb; helmets and armour are all gilt. As in (1) the hill background is mauve.

(3) Fol. 50. Rustam slays the White Dīv in his cave; outside, in chains, is Aulād, the guardian of Mazandaran, who has shown Rustam how to vanquish the demon. Rustam wears a golden helmet and a panther-skin over his tunic. The technique of the rocks

[1] Rieu, *Suppl.*, no. 201.

in which the cave is hollowed, with their red, green, and violet tones, anticipates the late-15th-century fashion. Outside the cave is Rustam's charger, Rakhsh.

(4) Fol. 65. The Dīv Akvān, finding Rustam asleep on his rock, takes him and throws him into the sea, which is bordered by mountains painted in ochre and violet. Here, too, Rustam is wearing a helmet and greaves of gold, and over his tunic the skin of a wild animal. The Dīv is depicted as a green monster, wearing a waist-high blue garment. This painting is considerably damaged.

(5) Fol. 151*b*. Bahrām Gūr, claimant to the throne of Iran, seizes the crown from between two lions which he attacks with his mace. The spectator biting his finger in astonishment is his rival Khusrau. The hill background is mauve. [E. B. and M. M.]

115

NUZHAT-NĀMAH

ABOUT A.D. 1400

An undated fragmentary copy of the Nuzhat-nāmah i Ala'ī

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The *Nuzhat-nāmah* is a work on various interesting and amusing phenomena of the world, on earth and in the skies, by Shahmardān ibn Abi'l-Khair, who flourished in the second half of the 5th (11th) century. It was dedicated to 'Alā' al-Daulah Khāṣ-beg Abū Kālījār Garshāsp ibn 'Alī ibn Farāmarz, of the Kākvaihid dynasty, who ruled (in Isfahan and Hamadan) from 488 till about 513.[1] It must have been written about 490, and there is a mention of the year 475 (or 477) in some manuscripts of the work.[2] The author's other existing composition, the *Rauẓat al-Munajjim*, was composed in 465–6 (1073). Mention is made, in the present work, of an Arabic original by the author, called *Kitāb al-Badā'i'*, used as the basis for this Persian version.[3] Copies of the *Nuzhat-nāmah* are not very common.[4] The present manuscript lacks about one-third of the original contents. There has, moreover, been a deliberate abridgment by the scribes of both this manuscript and no. 255 below.

There are about four folios missing at the beginning of the manuscript, and the present fol. 1 was constructed, probably in the 18th century, in India; the preface ends with the word *'ajā'ib*, which followed by the words on fol. 2 make the title appear as

عجائب نامهٔ علائی

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 34·4 × 25 cm.; the written surface measures 23 × 17 cm.; 17 lines; 143 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a Persian *Naskh* of considerably earlier date than that of the invention of *Nasta'līq*. The paper is thin, polished, and brittle, the

[1] Zambaur, pp. 216–17.

[2] In MS. 255 in this collection, fol. 130*b*, for instance.

[3] The author mentions his *Rauẓat al-Munajjm*, and another work called *Ḥall al-Rumūz al-Samā-viyyah*, &c., in the present work, giving extracts from them.

[4] Ethé, Bodl. Catal., No. 1480; Pertsch, Gotha Catal., No. 10; Majlis (Persian Parliament) Catal., No. 784. See also Ḥājjī Khalīfah, vol. vi, pp. 328 and 336; vol. iv, p. 412; Rieu, ii, pp. 465–6. Pertsch has given a complete list of the contents of the book.

edges are wormed. The pages, some of which are damaged, have been reset in modern margins.

BINDING. The cover has been discarded.

DATE AND SCRIBE. Neither the date nor the scribe are known but from the character of the script the manuscript appears to date from about A.D. 1400.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The book contains seventy-five pictures; on foll. 52*b*, 53, 54*b*, and 56 there are outline drawings; there are a number of blank spaces evidently intended for illustrations. The paintings, which may be copies from an earlier manuscript, are executed in a summary style with no attempt at detail. On fol. 22 is a giraffe; on fol. 45*b* a stylized representation of the Nile; on 42*b* a dragon. Other illustrations represent quadrupeds, plant and tree forms, and birds. The backgrounds are uncoloured, but are decorated with plants and flowers.

SEALS AND INSCRIPTIONS. On foll. 1 and 1*b* are several illegible seals and there is also a marginal note on fol. 97*b*, to the effect that the manuscript was granted in family *waqf*.

[E. B. and M. M.]

116

DĪVĀN I SHAMS I TABRĪZ

LATE 13TH CENTURY

A manuscript of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's collected lyrics and quatrains entitled Dīvān i Shams i Tabrīz

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Bahā al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusain al-Balkhī, known as Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Maulānā i Rūm, the most renowned of all Persian Ṣūfī Poets, was born at Balkh in 604 (1207), and died at Qoniya (Iconium) in 672 (1273). In his youth he came under the influence of Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī, a wandering mystic: as a tribute to his inspiring teachings Rūmī used his name as a kind of *takhalluṣ* in a great part of his lyrical poetry. The whole *dīvān* was lithographed at Lucknow in 1879 and 1885; selections have been edited in India several times, and at Tehran in 1941. Vincenz von Rozenzweig brought out an edition, with German verse-translations, of some select poems at Vienna in 1838: R. A. Nicholson edited and translated 48 of the poems at Cambridge in 1898. The present manuscript is probably the oldest and most complete of all existing copies, and must have been transcribed very shortly after the death of Rūmī. Apart from this, it has the further interest and importance that the lyrics are arranged in sections according to metre, each section being put into alphabetical order by rhyme. The following analysis illustrates this remarkable feature.

ای طایران قدس‌را عشقت فزوده بالها
Fol. 1*b* رجز سلیم beginning
در حلقهٔ سودای تو روحانیانرا حالها

درخت اگر متحرّك بذی ز جای بجا
Fol. 21*b* مجتثّ beginning
نه رنج اره کشیذی نه زخمهای جفا

آمذ بت میخانه تا خانه برذ مارا
Fol. 50*b* هزج مثمّن beginning
بنموذ بهار نو تا تازه کنذ مارا

خواهم گرفتن اکنون آن مایهٔ صوررا
Fol. 71*a* مضارع اخرب beginning
دامی نهاذه‌ام خوش آن قبلهٔ نظررا

نام شتر بترکی چه بوذ بگو دوا
Fol. 84*b* مضارع beginning
نام بچه‌ش چه باشذ او خوذ پیش دوا

ای از نظرت مست شذه اسم و مسمّا
Fol. 101*a* هزج اخرب beginning
ای یوسف جان گشته ز لبهات شکرخا

دلارام نهان گشته ز غوغا
Fol. 110*b* هزج مسدّس مقطوع beginning
همه رفتند و خلوت شذ برون آ

چون نمایی آن رخ گل رنگ‌را
Fol. 137*a* رمل مسدّس beginning
از طرب در خنده آری سنگ‌را

ای دل رفته ز جا باز میا
Fol. 152*a* رمل مسدس مخبون beginning
بفنا ساز و درین ساز میا

پیشتر آ پیشتر آ بو الوفا
Fol. 154*b* سریع مطوی beginning
از من و ما بگذر و زوتر بیا

گوش من منتظر پیام ترا
Fol. 165*b* خفیف beginning
جان بجان جسته یك سلام ترا

چند گریزی ز ما چند روی جابجا
Fol. 175*b* منسرح مثمّن beginning
جان تو در دستها همچو گلوی عصا

بشکر خنده اگر می ببرذ جان مرا
Fol. 187*a* رمل مخبون beginning
متّع اللّه فؤادی بحبیبی أبدا

تو مرا جان و جهانی چه کنم جان و جهان‌را
Fol. 203*a* رمل beginning
تو مرا گنج روانی چه کنم سود و زیان‌را

ماه درست‌را نگر کو بشکست خواب ما
Fol. 208*b* رجز مطوی beginning
تافت ز چرخ هفتمین در وطن خراب ما

ساقی تو شراب لامکان‌را
Fol. 221*b* هزج مسدّس اخرب beginning
آن نام و نشان بی‌نشان‌را

Fol. 245*b* [*sic*] رجز مطوی beginning

خواجه بیا خواجه بیا خواجه دگر بار بیا دفع مده دفع مده ای همه عیّار بیا

Fol. 250*b* [ ] beginning

بروید ای حریفان بکشید یار مارا بمن آورید آخر صنمی گریز پارا

Fol. 257*a* هزج سالم مثمّن beginning

ترا ساقی جان گوید برای ننگ و نامی‌را فرو مگذار در مجلس چنین اشگرف جامی‌را

Fol. 278*b* رمل مثمّن beginning

ساقیا در نوش آور شیرهٔ عنقودرا در صبوح آور سبك مستان خواب آلودرا

Fol. 317*b* بحر مختلف (various metres) beginning

نرد کف تو بردست مرا شیر غم تو خوردست مرا

The lyrics end on fol. 334*b*. Fol. 335*a* is blank. Foll. 335*b*–336*a* contain some additional lyrics. Foll. 336*b*–338*b* are blank. Fol. 339*a* contains a few quatrains, with the curious note از دست خط خداوندگار نقل کرده شد

The quatrains proper begin on fol. 339*b* and end on fol. 374*b*. An appended note gives the number of *bait* as amounting to 38,124.

On fol. 5*a* is a note by Shaikh Ḥasan al-Gulshanī, dated Ẕu'l-Qa'dah [1] 159 October–November 1781 stating that he had read the manuscript through and that the *waqf* was sound. Notes on foll. 3*a*, 77*a*, and 360*a* state that the *waqf* was established at the monastery founded by Ibrāhīm Gulshanī, by Muḥyī ibn Muḥammad, grandson of the said Ibrāhīm; these notes are signed Muḥyī.

A page has been pasted over fol. 1*a* and an inscription added in a good *Nasta'līq* hand, giving a long title in Arabic beginning

الحمد لله الذي هدانا سبلنا . . . فهذه الاسرار الروحانيه والسفن النوحيه الخ

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. The written surface measures 23·4 × 17·4 cm. The page surface measures 31·6 × 23·6 cm. The volume contains 374 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a clear old Persian *Naskh*, in 4 columns of 27 lines, with occasional rubrics. There are no catchwords. The cream paper is rather coarse and glazed; there are a few damp-stains, and fol. 1 is damaged.

BINDING. The fine binding (possibly from a 14th.-century Koran) is in dark-brown leather with a centre ornament, tooled, with corner quadrants, ruled margins, and a stamped frieze. The covers are rubbed and loose, and the spine is wanting.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript is unsigned and undated, but the script appears to belong to the last quarter of the 13th century.

[A. J. A.]

117

POEMS BY ʿAṬṬĀR

DATED 819–21 (1416–18)

A collection of five poems by Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, who died some time in the first quarter of the 7th century of the Hijrah 13th century A.D.—see the Introduction to *Taẕkirat al-Auliyā* (ed. R. A. Nicholson) by Mirzā Muḥammad of Qazvīn, Leyden, vol. i (1905), p. xiv), never specifically compiled a *Khamsah*; loth to restrict himself like Niẓāmī to five or Jāmī to seven, his *maṣnavīs* total a considerable number, of which sixteen have survived.[1] The five which compose this book represent the best of his work, which in general abounds in recapitulations and repetitions. They are as follows:

Fol. 1*b*. The *Ilāhī-nāmah* or 'Divine Book', a mystical treatise containing, in twenty-two chapters, the fictitious story of a Khalīf who expounds to his six sons the vanity of their ambitions.

Fol. 73*b*. The *Manṭiq al-ṭair* or 'The Speech of the Birds' shows how the mystic, through the austerities of the monastic rule, may achieve union with Allah. This work was composed in A.H. 583. A colophon on fol. 125 indicates that this poem was copied in 819 (1416).

Fol. 126*b*. The *Muṣībat-nāmah* or 'Book of Affliction', also known as the *Nuzhat-nāmah*, describes in forty chapters the life the mystic must lead to achieve union with God. A colophon on fol. 210 indicates that this poem was copied on the 24th of the month of Muḥarram 821 (3 March 1418).

Fol. 210*b*. The *Asrār-nāmah* or 'Book of Mysteries', a mystical treatise in the form of moral anecdotes, distributed over several chapters. At the end was a presentation colophon, now obliterated.

Fol. 249*b*. *Khusrau-nāmah* or *Khusrau u Gul*, as entitled in this manuscript, the romance of Khusrau and Gul, is a *maṣnavī* abbreviated by ʿAṭṭār from a much longer work of his own. A colophon bears the date 821 (1418). The blank pages between each two works (foll. 72*b*, 125*b*, 126, 210, 248*b*, 249, and 333) have been utilized by the addition, in the same hand, of poems by various poets, such as: Kamāl Ismāʿīl, Tāj al-Dīn of Khurāsān, Rukn al-Dīn of Abhar, Jalāl al-Dīn i Ṭabīb, Ibn Yamīn, Firdausī, ʿAṭṭār himself, [Jamāl al-Din] ʿAbd al-Razzāq, and Farīdūn ʿAkkāshah. Traces of more such added poems on foll. 1 and 333*b* covered by blank paper prove that the original collection contained some other of ʿAṭṭār's poems.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 16·6 × 11·5 cm.; the written surface measures 12·1 × 8 cm.; 4 columns of 25 lines; 333 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a mixture of *Naskh* and *Taʿlīq* tending towards *Nastaʿlīq*. The paper is thin and polished. Some folios (168 and 237–41) are in a much later hand, and have been substituted for missing leaves.

[1] Blochet, *Catalogue*, tom. iii, pp. 78 et seq.

BINDING. The binding is *sūkhtah* binding of the early 18th century. The outside of the cover is of dark-brown leather with a flap and gilt sunk centres and corners; the inside is of stamped vermilion paper.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript was compiled in the years 819–21 (1416–18) by an unknown scribe.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. On fol. 73 is a *shamsah* containing an inscription; on foll. 1*b*, 73*b*, 126*b*, 210*b*, and 249*b* are five *sarlauḥs*, one to each of the *maṣnavīs* composing the volume. They are illuminated in blue, and in gold on a white ground, with a few touches of red, in a style which seems to be characteristic of the work of western Iran from about the middle of the 14th century into the time of the Timurids. The sub-titles are in gold on cloud forms on a gold-hatched ground.

[E. B. and M. M.]

118

SHĀH-NĀMAH

15TH CENTURY

An illustrated folio from Firdausī's Shāh-nāmah

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The folio has been detached from a manuscript of the epic.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 32 × 23·2 cm. The written surface measures 19·8 × 15·7 cm.; 4 columns; 25 lines.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a fair *Nastaʿlīq*, written within gold rulings. There is one heading in *Ṣuls*. The paper is rather light in colour.

DATE. There is no date, but the manuscript was apparently copied in the earlier part of the 15th century.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATION. One row of lines is written in diagonals, the triangles so formed being ornamented with foliage in gold and colours. The heading is ornamented with gold.

The miniature, which occupies about half a page and covers the whole breadth of the text space, depicts Gushtāsp, on foot, slaying a wolf with a long sword. He is dressed in blue, and wears a gold crown. His charger is largely concealed behind the green hilly background. On the right is a tree, and flowering shrubs with large purple flowers. The sky is gold.

The rather primitive style is, in *Shāh-nāmah* illustration, no certain guide to the date, but an early 15th-century date may be here deduced from the figure and landscape drawing, the dress of Gushtāsp, and the foliage. [J. V. S. W.]

119

GULISTĀN

DATED 830 (1427)

PLATES

A manuscript of Sa'dī's Gulistān

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. As appears from the inscription in the medallion on fol. 1, as well as from the colophon, this beautiful manuscript of Sa'dī's celebrated *Gulistān*, or 'Rose Garden', an ethical work in ornate prose and verse, was made for the library of the Timurid Prince Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Bā'īsunghur Mīrzā (d. 837 (1433)), son of Shāh Rukh.[1] It is one of a small group of manuscripts which have survived from the library of this princely bibliophile.

The manuscript is not minutely accurate.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 24·8 × 15·4 cm.; the written surface measures 17 × 10 cm.; 23 lines; 56 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a beautiful small *Nasta'līq*. The paper is of a dark ivory tone, polished and firm.

BINDING. The outside of the cover, which is not contemporary, is of brocade with a foliage design in green and grey on a darker grey ground; there are gilt cord borders on the red leather edging and a red leather back; inside is a gold-sprinkled orange paper with a central motif in gold on a blue ground.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript was copied at Herat in 830 (1427) by the illustrious Ja'far al-Bā'īsunghurī (as he signs himself), head of the library of the Prince Bā'īsunghur Mīrzā, and the leading calligrapher of his time. (See also no. 122.)

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The superb illumination is characteristic of the work of the Persian Herat school in the first Timurid period. On fol. 1 is a rosette with a gold ground covered in decorative green foliage; it is framed in a lapis blue wreath ornamented with small gold and black fleurons. The rosette encloses three lines of white script which read: 'For the treasury of the books of the eminent Sulṭān Bā'īsunghur Bahādur Khān, may Allah prolong his reign for ever!' On fol. 1*b* is an exquisite *sarlauḥ*; it consists of a gold cartouche with foliage ornament in green and an inscription in white: 'To Allah, praise and grace!' The cartouche is flanked with two square ornamental features, and the whole is contained within an oblong, the black ground of which is ornamented with foliage scrolls, and which is surmounted by a row of fleurons on a decorated gold ground. There are numerous tail-pieces and there is a diversity of ornament in gold and colours on every page.

[1] See under no. 120.

The eight miniatures are in the finest Herat taste of the period, pre-figuring the so-called 'Bihzadian' style of some fifty years later. The colouring is rich and harmonious. The figure drawing is simple but very expressive; the small scale of the figures is noticeable.

The subjects of the eight pictures are as follows:

(1) Fol. 3. Sa'dī and his teacher conversing by night in a garden, seated upon a carpet with a red ground and brown border. The earth is painted gold.

(2) Fol. 9. A vizier, who, reduced to destitution, has become a dervish, sits in scanty clothing before the king's palace and with the words 'Better disgrace than favour' refuses his sovereign's offer of reinstatement. The brick palace is painted in orange and vermilion.

(3) Fol. 14. A wrestling-match. A pupil, having impudently challenged his master, is ignominiously vanquished.

(4) Fol. 15*b*. Sa'dī in a boat with a company of merchants. A sailor is taking in the sail to enable two other sailors to rescue some men who have fallen overboard.

(5) Fol. 16*b*. An Arabian king making advances, in a chamber of his palace, to a Chinese girl, who resists him. She has an orange vermilion silk dress and a diadem. By the door is an officer admitting a black slave.

(6) Fol. 29*b*. A young wrestler leaves his country to seek his fortune, and travels in a ship, which here is seen approaching a column, erected in the water, upon which he has disembarked.

(7) Fol. 32*b*. The poet, nude to the waist, is seen in the courtyard of a castle making vain attempts to collect stones from the frozen ground to keep at bay the dogs which are attacking him.

(8) Fol. 36*b*. A lady offering a goblet of water to a youth (Sa'dī) outside a house of orange vermilion brick. [E. B.]

120

CALLIGRAPHY

EARLY 15TH CENTURY

Two pages of calligraphy from an anonymous collection of Arabic proverbs and wise sayings

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. These two pages appear to have been formerly the opening pages of a compilation of Arabic proverbs and wise sayings put together and calligraphed at the order of Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Bā'īsunghur, son of Shāh Rukh and grandson of Tīmūr, who succeeded Qara-Yūsuf as governor of Tabriz in 823 (1420), was appointed governor of Astarabad in 835 (1431), and died at Herat on 7 Jumādā I, 837 (19 December 1433). Bā'īsunghur was himself an artist, and an enthusiastic patron of the arts; he maintained in his library a staff of forty copyists, pupils of Mīr 'Alī; and no doubt the present pages were produced there. The history of the compilation is given as follows:

هذه مجموعة مبنية على غرر الالفاظ ونوادرها منبية عن درر المعانى وجواهرها مشتملة على نفايس الفوائد منتظمة عن اللآلى والفرايد أشار بجمعها وترتيبها وأمر بتصوير[ها] وتذهيبها السلطان الاعظم مالك | رقاب الامم مولى سلاطين العرب والعجم خليفة اللّه فى العالمين قهرمان المآء والطين ظلّ اللّه فى الارضين غياث السلطنة والدنيا والدين بايسنغر بهادر خان خلّد اللّه تعالى ملكه وسلطانه

'This is a collection constructed upon fine and rare phrases and publishing pearls and jewels of ideas, embracing precious observations and composed of fine and unique stones. Its collecting and composing, illustrating and illuminating, was done at the direction of the most mighty sultan, ruler of the necks of the peoples, appointer of the sultans of the Arabs and the Persians, Allah's viceregent in the worlds, curator of water and clay, Allah's shadow on earth, Ghiyāṣ al-Salṭanah wa'l-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Bā'īsunghur Bahādur Khān, may God Most High perpetuate his rule and authority.'

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. The written surface measures 15·5 × 9 cm. The margins have been trimmed and the pages are mounted.

WRITING AND PAPER. The main inscription as reproduced above is calligraphed in *Ṣuls*. At the foot of each page is a line of text in monumental Cufic. The paper is of fine quality, glazed. The colours have in a few places been affected by damp.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The pages are undated and unsigned, but the transcription obviously took place towards the end of Bā'īsunghur's life, that is, in the first third of the 9th (15) century.

ILLUMINATION. The pages are splendid specimens of Timurid art. The *Ṣuls* inscription is in gold outlined in black on a gold ground of another tone, with blue arabesques, and enclosed in a medallion set in a rectangle with a blue ground and coloured arabesques. The Cufic inscription is in white. The pages are elaborately and splendidly illuminated in floral patterns and arabesques, the dominant colours being gold, blue, and black. [A. J. A.]

121

MUṢĪBAT-NĀMAH

DATED 833 (1429–30)

A manuscript of 'Aṭṭār's Muṣībat-nāmah

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The *Muṣībat-nāmah*, or 'Book of Affliction', is a mystical and legendary poem[1].

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 30·5 × 19·5 cm.; the written surface measures 14 × 6·7 cm.; 17 lines; 163 + 2 folios.

[1] See no. 117 *ante* for subject and author.

BINDING. The manuscript is bound in a good 18th-century lacquer binding, with coloured flower-designs on a green and gold ground. Inside are tree- and bird-designs in gold on a red ground.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a good early *Nasta'līq*, with headings in gold or red. The columns are divided by two lines of gold. The paper is polished and somewhat opaque. The text is set in margins of varying colours, which have been injured by damp and worms.

DATE AND SCRIBE. According to the colophon the manuscript was copied by Aẓhar al-Kātib[1] in 833 (1429–30).

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. There are two fully illuminated pages at the beginning (foll. 2*b* and 3) with gold and coloured ornament of very high quality, in which blue and gold predominate; black and green are effectively employed. On fol. 4 is a circular medallion containing the title and author's name in white letters on gold. Foll. 4*b* and 5 have fine ornamented borders, as have 5*b* and 6, but the latter, in which gold predominates, may be later than the former. The other pages of the text have borders with gold designs on variously coloured grounds. The inner border of the colophon on fol. 162 is also illuminated.

There are miniatures on foll. 3*b*, 77, 128*b*, and 142*b*. These are modern additions, painted over the text in a 16th-century style.

SEALS AND INSCRIPTIONS. The manuscript contains numerous Mughal seal impressions, *'arẓ-dīdahs*, and inscriptions at the beginning and end. On fol. 2 is a note, apparently by the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr, recording that the manuscript was added to the Imperial library in the fourth year of his reign. The same Emperor's seal impression, and those of the librarians of subsequent Emperors, can be distinguished.

[M. M.]

122

LAMA'ĀT OF 'IRĀQĪ, AND ANTHOLOGY

DATED 835 (1432). COPIED BY JA'FAR

PLATES

The Lama'āt or 'Flashes' of 'Irāqī, together with an anthology of Persian lyrical poetry.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The *Lama'āt*, by Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Shahriyār 'Irāqī, who died at Damascus in 686 or 688 (1287 or 1289), is an important tract in prose and verse on mystic love and the various attributes of divinity, founded on the teachings of 'Irāqī's master, the famous Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūniyavī, whose courses on one of the most abstruse Arabic works on occultism, the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* of Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-'Arabī, he attended at Qonya.[2]

'Irāqī's work is divided into twenty-seven short chapters, each bearing the title *Lam'ah*, wherein are elucidated the most abstruse principles of occultism. It is followed

[1] Aẓhar was pupil of the illustrious Ja'far, the scribe of nos. 119 and 122 (see Huart, 'Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman', p. 215).

[2] Rieu, p. 594.

by an anthology of mystical *ghazals* from the *dīvāns* of Persian poets, Qāsim i Anvār, Humām of Tabriz, 'Atīqī, Amīr Khusrau, Ḥasan of Delhi, 'Imād Faqīh, Jalāl i 'Aẓud, Salmān Sāvajī, Khwājū, and Ḥāfiẓ. On foll. 93 to 95 is an extract from Niẓāmī's *Khusrau u Shīrīn* illustrated with a miniature. On fol. 133*b*, after a lacuna, commence some quatrains which lack the usual indications of authorship. On fol. 1*b* is added, in a recent hand, a poem in Arabic by Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd. Other marginal notes at end.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 17·0 × 8·0 cm.; the written surface measures 2·6 × 10·7 cm.; the script is both horizontal and oblique and the number of lines varies; 135 folios. For other examples of these little oblong manuscripts see nos. 127, 159, and 185.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a highly elegant *Nasta'līq*, within gold and blue borders on white or tinted paper. It is to be noted that the great calligrapher shows all the characteristics of fully formed *Nasta'līq* at this comparatively early date after the first systemization of the script.

BINDING. The outside of the cover is of dark-red leather with a central medallion with two pendants enclosing a stamped and gilt design, and a gold line border; the inside is of marbled paper.

DATE AND SCRIBE. Ja'far al-Tabrīzī, as he here signs himself, was one of the most famous of all Persian calligraphers. He has dated his work 835 (1432). (See also no. 119.)

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. On foll. 1*b* and 71*b* are two minute, beautifully designed *sarlauḥs* in blue, gold, green, and black, with plaited borders and white cufic script on gold, in the pure Timurid style as practised at Herat in the reign of Shāh Rukh Bahādur in the first quarter of the 15th century. Some pages have drawings in gold and occasionally black of birds, trees, or foliage, others are ornamented with stencilled designs, displaying a variety of motifs, including animals, plant forms, symmetrically confronted birds, and so on. This is perhaps the first known instance of the use of stencils in manuscripts.

On fol. 94*b* is a miniature of Shīrīn at the bank of a rivulet, discovering Khusrau's portrait, painted and left there by Shāpūr. The painting is delicately coloured, and of a rather unusual type; not very carefully executed, but of considerable charm.

SEALS AND INSCRIPTIONS. On fol. 134 is an erased seal of ownership.

[E. B. and M. M.]

123

KULLIYYĀT OF SA'DĪ

EARLY 15TH CENTURY

The complete works of Sa'dī. (See no. 109 *ante*)

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. This collection of Sa'dī's complete prose and verse, written in both the body and margins of the pages, opens on fol. 2*b* with the

title: '*Dīvān* of that most eloquent of authors Shaikh Musharrif al-Dīn Muṣliḥ al-Sa'dī.'

The works written in the body of the page are as follows:

(1) Fol. 2*b*. The preface of 'Alī ibn Aḥmad [ibn] Abī Bakr [ibn] Bīsutūn.

(2) Fol. 5*b*. The first *risālah*, consisting of the prose preface by Sa'dī.

(3) Foll. 10*b*, 13*b*, 17*b*, 20, 23*b*. The five *majālis* composing the second *risālah*; the second is wrongly entitled the first but correctly designated in its colophon on fol. 17.

(4) Fol. 30*b*. The third *risālah*, entitled *Risālah i Ṣāḥib Dīvān*, comprising a list of questions put by the well-known minister Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Juvainī to Sa'dī together with the latter's replies.

(5) Fol. 32*b*. The fourth *risālah*, entitled *'Aql u 'ishq*, embodying a discussion on Reason and Love and their disparities.

(6) Fol. 35. The fifth *risālah*, entitled *Naṣīḥat i mulūk*, containing advice to rulers.

(7) A collection of three works: (*a*) fol. 44. The *Risālah i Sulṭān Abāqā*, an account by some person, who had it direct from Sa'dī, of a conversation between the poet and the Mongol Prince of Iran, Abāqā Khān, son of Hūlāgū; (*b*) fol. 45b. *Risālah i Malik Ankiyānū*, or advice of Sa'dī to a Mongol general, Ankiyānū, governor of Fārs from 667 to 670 (1268–71);[1] (*c*) fol. 47b. The *Risālah i Tāzīgū'ī*, containing the advice given by Sa'dī to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tāzīgū'ī, or Tāzīkū, son of Mālik, who had guaranteed all the revenues of Fars for the Mongol Government. Here, too, the story is told, not by Sa'dī himself, but by someone else.

(8) Fol. 48*b*. The Arabic *qaṣīdahs*, the prose pieces forming a kind of prolegomena to the real collection.

(9) Fol. 60*b*. The Persian *qaṣīdahs*.

(10) Fol. 101*b*. The elegies, including one (fol. 107*b*) lamenting the death of al-Musta'ṣim, the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad.

(11) Fol. 108. The Mulamma'āt or *qaṣīdahs*, verses in Persian and Arabic alternately.

(12) Fol. 114*b*. The *Tarjī'-band*.

(13) Fol. 124*b*. The *ghazals* called *Ṭayyibāt*, 'excellent', arranged in alphabetical order of rhyming.

(14) Fol. 255*b*. The *ghazals* called *Badā'i'*, 'marvels', also in alphabetical sequence.

(15) Fol. 315*b*. The *Muqaṭṭa'āt*.

(16) Fol. 328. The *Fardiyyāt*, or odd and disconnected lines.

In the margins are:

(1) Fol. 2*b*. The *Gulistān*, with a colophon on fol. 98*b*, dated Ẕū'l-Ḥijjah, 725 (November, 1325), evidently the date of the manuscript from which the present copy was made or derived.

(2) Fol. 99*b*. The *Būstān*.

(3) Fol. 251*b*. The *Khavātīm* or '*ghazals* of the later days' arranged in alphabetical order of rhyming.

(4) Fol. 274*b*. The *Ghazaliyyāt i qadīm* or '*ghazals* of the earlier days' in alphabetical order.

(5) Fol. 285*b*. The *Ṣāḥibiyyah*, a collection of ethical poems and aphorisms conceived in the form of *muqaṭṭa'āt* and dedicated to the famous Ṣāḥib i Dīvān Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juvainī.

[1] Rieu, p. 597; and *Mamdūḥīn-i Sa'di*, by M. Qazvini, Tehran, 1938, pp. 38–40.

(6) Fol. 308*b*. The *Khabīṣāt*, also called the Muṭāyibāt, a collection of licentious pieces and facetiae in prose and verse.

(7) Fol. 317*b*. The quatrains, up to 320, and then continuing in the body of the text from 320*b*.

(8) Fol. 320. The *Hazliyyāt*, humorous pieces in prose consisting of three mock homilies.[1]

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 20·8 × 13 cm.; the written surface measures 15·7 × 9 cm.; 15 lines and oblique marginal text; 330 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a clear *Naskh* tending towards *Nasta'līq*. The paper is of an ivory tone, polished and thin.

BINDING. The outside of the cover is of brown leather with gilt sunk central medallions, with pendants and sunk corners, enriched with arabesques and floral ornament; the inside is of reddish-brown leather with centre and corners of gilt tracery over blue.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript was copied by Shams al-Dīn 'Alī, perhaps as early as 1434 (see below under 'Seals and Inscriptions'). An early 15th-century date may be in any case inferred from the style of the script, the illumination, and the format.

The date 725 (1325) on fol. 98*b* cannot be that of this copy, but was probably transcribed by the calligrapher from the model which he was copying.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. Foll. 1*b* and 2, 2*b* and 3, containing, respectively, the titles of Sa'dī's works, and the openings of the Preface and the *Gulistān*, form two illuminated double-pages. In the first two pages (containing the titles), blue bands, with minute gold floral ornament, enclose gold cartouches on which the titles are written in gold on white and in white on gold alternately. These titles are arranged round circular medallions, three on each page. Foll. 2*b* and 3 are richly illuminated on a mainly rectilinear scheme in the same style.

The illumination is characteristic of one branch of early Timurid ornamental style. Its chief features are the prevalence of blue and gold (though other colours are also sparingly introduced—in this manuscript red and green, with black) and the minute gold naturalistic floral ornament. There are some grounds for believing that it originated at Shiraz, in which city most of the early manuscripts of this type were apparently made. (See under no. 114.)

The titles of the various works are written in gold on white grounds within illuminated rectangles; sub-titles are in gold, and there are corner-pieces in gold and colour throughout, in the triangular spaces left by the diagonal marginal writing.

There are no illustrations.

SEALS AND INSCRIPTIONS. A *turanj* with an inscription in five lines on fol. 1, which has been pasted over with paper, can still be read as: 'Made for the library of the august Sulṭān Abū'l-'Izz al-Sulṭān 'Abd Allāh. . . .' This is in all probability 'Abd Allāh, son of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, son of Shāh Rukh, son of Tīmūr. This prince ruled over Fars from 838 (1434) and over Transoxiana in 854 (1450) and died in 855 (1451).[2]

On foll. 19*b*, 30, 103*b*, and 124 is the seal of 'Abd al-Vahhāb ibn Luṭf Allāh with the names of the twelve Shī'ah Imāms in the field. [E. B. and M. M.]

[1] Ibid., p. 598.

[2] Zambaur, pp. 269 and 270.

124

ANTHOLOGY

DATED 838–40 (1435–6)

An anthology (with no title) of the Khamsah of Niẓāmī, the Maṣnavī of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, five maṣnavīs by Amīr Khusrau, the Burdah of al-Būṣīrī in Arabic with a translation into Persian, the Manṭiq al-Ṭair of 'Aṭṭār and the Būstān of Sa'dī

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Niẓāmī[1] (Niẓām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf) of Ganjah (535?–598 or 9 (1140-1201–3)) is the acknowledged chief of all Persian *maṣnavī* writers. His five poems, or *Khamsah*, have served as models for numerous imitators, and have been illustrated more oftenthan any other work except the *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdausī.

For Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, see under no. 116 *ante*. His *Maṣnavī* is the most renowned of all Persian mystical poems.

Yamīn al-Dīn Abū'l-Hasan Amīr Khusrau[2] Dihlavī, the most famous of the Persian poets of India, was born in 651 (1253) and died at Delhi in 725 (1325). He was given the title of Amīr by his sovereign, Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz.

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Buṣīrī died in 694? (1294). His *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah*, a poem in praise of Muḥammad, is one of the most celebrated works in Arabic literature.

For 'Aṭṭār and the *Manṭiq al-Ṭair*, see under no. 117 *ante*.

For Sa'dī, see under no. 109 *ante*.

Both the volumes composing this enormous anthology of great poems have text in the margins as well as in the body of the page. The contents are:

Vol. i: (fol. 1*b*) *Makhzan al-Asrār*, or 'The Store of Mysteries', one of the five romantic *maṣnavī* poems by Niẓāmī; followed by the other four, viz: (fol. 26*b*) the romance of Khusrau and Shīrīn; (fol. 91*b*) the romance of Lailā and Majnūn; (fol. 140*b*) *Haft Paikar*, or 'The Seven Portraits', the romance of Bahrām Gūr and the daughters of the seven kings of the world; (fol. 190*b*) *Sharaf-nāmah*, the first part of *Iskandar-Nāmah*, the 'Book of Alexander'; (263*b*) *Iqbāl-nāmah*, the second part of the same. In the margins is the *Maṣnavī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, books i (fol. 3*b*), ii (fol. 102*b*), and iii (fol. 190*b*).

Vol. ii. (fol. 1*b*) The *Maṭla' al-anvār* or 'Dawn of Light', by Amīr Khusrau (here erroneously entitled *Ā'īnah i Iskandarī* or 'Alexander's Mirror', written in emulation of Niẓāmī's 'Store of Mysteries'; (fol. 36*b*) the book of Shīrīn and Khusrau, by Amīr Khusrau; (fol. 83*b*) the romance of Lailā and Majnūn, by Amīr Khusrau; (fol. 112*b*) *Hasht Bihisht*, 'The Eight Paradises', by Amīr Khusrau; (fol. 149*b*) *Ā'īnah i Iskandarī*, the Epic of Alexander by Amīr Khusrau; (fol. 196*b*) the *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah* of al-Būṣīrī, with a translation in Persian verse by Muḥammad known as Ḥāfiẓ. In the colophon the translator gives his name and the date of his work as follows: 'When six hundred and fifty Arab years had elapsed after the Ḥijrah, this translation into Persian verse was penned. I, the slave, am a panegyrist of the Prophet. I am known as Ḥāfiẓ, my name is Muḥammad, and I am the slave of Muḥammad (the Prophet).'

[1] See Rieu, p. 564.

[2] See Rieu, pp. 240*b* et seqq. and p. 609.

The first verse of the *Burdah*

أمِنْ تذكّر جيرانٍ بِذى سَلَمِ مَزجتَ دمعًا جرى من مُقلةٍ بدمِ

reads in Persian

ای ز یاد صحبت یارانت اندر ذی سلم اشك چشم آمیختی با خون روان گشته بهم

The Arabic text is written in a black *Naskh*, the Persian translation in a gold *Nasta'līq*.

(Fol. 201*b*) *Manṭiq al-ṭair*, or 'The Speech of the Birds', by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār; (fol. 252*b*) Sa'dī's *Būstān*. In the margins is the continuation, from the margins of volume i, of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Maṣnavī*; (fol. 1*b*) book iv, (fol. 94*b*) book v, (fol. 186*b*) book vi.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 27·5 × 17·2 cm.; the written surface measures 17 × 10·7 cm.; 4 columns of 25 lines and oblique marginal script; vol. i: 303 folios; vol. ii: 294 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing, except for the *Naskh* used in the Arabic text of the *Burdah* and the *Ṣuls* used in some of the titles, is a *Nasta'līq*, enclosed within gold and blue rulings. The paper is of a deep ivory tone, polished and firm, and has been relaid throughout within modern margins.

BINDING. The outside of the cover of each volume is of modern salmon-coloured leather; the inside is of cream paper.

DATE AND SCRIBES. The scribe responsible for the first volume and a part of the second was 'Alī Pāgīr al-Ashtarjānī (i.e. from Ashtarjān of Isfahan), while Zain al-Iṣfahānī completed the second volume and has appended his signature to the *Būstān* and the sixth book of the *Maṣnavī*. The dates appearing on the separate works of this manuscript are: *Makhzan al-Asrār*, 20 Jumādā II, 838 (21 January 1435); first book of *Maṣnavī*, 12 Shavvāl 838 (11 May 1435); first part of the *Iskandar-nāmah*, 25 Rabī' II, 839 (17 November 1435); *Hasht Bihisht*, 25 Ẕū'l-qa'dah 839 (10 June 1436); Khusrau's Ā'īnah i Iskandarī, 10 Muḥarram 840 (25 July 1436); sixth book of the *Maṣnavī*, 23 Ẕū'l-qa'dah, 839 (8 June 1436); *Būstān*, Ṣafar 840 (August–September 1436).

Fol. 201 in vol. i is a later addition in place of a lost leaf.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The illumination, often of great beauty, is very careful and shows some unusual variations; it probably includes work of different times, as is not unusual in a book of this character and magnitude.

Vol. i. On fol. 1 is the left half of a magnificent decoration, the frontispiece to Niẓāmī's *Khamsah*. This is mainly of gold, with some colour, and black. This frontispiece originally occupied two confronting pages, but the right-hand page has been torn out. In the centre is a circular gold rosette wherein were inscribed the names of the ruler for whose library the volumes were written and illuminated; they have been obliterated. Round the rosette is a medallion composed of circles and round leaves, in many of which were the titles, now almost illegible, of the works composing the anthology. The medallion is inscribed inside a rectangular framework within each corner of which hovers a crowned angel with outspread wings. The frontispiece has been considerably mutilated. The whole of this rich and elaborate composition is framed within a beautiful border of panels in gold, black, and red containing decorative foliage.

Foll. 1*b*–2: this double-page frontispiece, of similar character to the preceding, contains the opening of Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-Asrār*. The ornament is composed of a number of contiguous circles, rectangles, and other figures within a framework of gold foliage scrolls and black and red fleurons on a blue ground, the predominant colour being gold. Fol. 26*b*: the *'unvān* to the romance of Khusrau and Shīrīn, similar in style to the above frontispiece. Fol. 91*b*: the *'unvān* to the romance of Lailā and Majnūn, with brighter colour than the preceding. Fol. 102*b*: a small gold *'unvān* at the head of the second book of the *Maṣnavī*. Fol. 140*b*: the *'unvān* to the *Haft Paikar*, of similar technique to that on fol. 91*b*. Fol. 190*b*: the *'unvān* to the first part of the *Iskandar-nāmah*. The style is unusual; within a cartouche the title is inscribed in gold letters on a blue ground covered with decorative red foliage; the panel is enclosed within a rectangular gold border, the two end spaces being filled with foliage in gold and small red flowers on a black ground. On the same folio, at the head of the third book of the *Maṣnavī*, is a small *'unvān* in blue with red fleurons. Fol. 263*b*: the *'unvān* to the second book of the *Iskandar-nāmah* consists of an elongated panel within which the title is inscribed, in green, on a gold ground ornamented with red foliage forms; this panel is enclosed within rectangular borders of gold and blue with coloured floral designs.

Vol. ii. Fol. 1*b*: the *'unvān* heading of the *Maṭla' al-anvār*, in a style resembling that of the *'unvān* on fol. 190*b* of vol. i; on the same folio, at the head of the fourth book of the *Maṣnavī*, a small *'unvān*. Fol. 36*b*; the *'unvān* to the romance of Khusrau and Shīrīn, consisting of lobed panels, the central one ornamented with green foliage forms on a blue ground and embodying the inaccurate title, كتاب شيرين و خسرو. Fol. 83*b*: the *'unvān* to the 'Lailā and Majnūn', an unusual decoration of interlacing circles in polychrome. Fol. 94*b*: a small *'unvān* at the head of the fifth book of the *Maṣnavī*. Foll. 112*b*, 149*b*: two impressive *'unvāns* to the 'Eight Paradises' and the 'Book of Alexander'. These very intricate designs consist of successive lobed panels in blue and black, one within another, filled with ornamental foliage. Fol. 186*b*: a small, mainly blue and gold *'unvān* at the head of the sixth book of the *Maṣnavī*. Fol. 196*b*: an *'unvān* in blue with ornamental foliage in red and gold, with other colours, at the head of the *Burdah* and containing its title in gold. Fol. 201*b*: the *'unvān* to the *Manṭiq al-ṭair*, a large panel with lobed semicircular ends having a lapis ground filled with white ornamental foliage across which runs the gold title. The panel has an extension at each end in the shape of two circles, one in blue, one in black, decorated with ornamental foliage, the whole being enclosed within a gold rectangle. Fol. 252*b*: the *'unvān* to the *Būstān*, in blue with red and green ornamental foliage upon which the title is inscribed in gold.

Some pages have floral ornaments in gold and colour in the triangles left by the diagonal script. The titles are in gold throughout. The ornamentation of the manuscript was never completed.

The miniatures, which number 121, are nearly all of an unusual and peculiar, curiously primitive type, contrasting in this with the extremely subtle illumination. Most are apparently from one hand, but a few, recognizable at once by the smaller scale of the figures, must be by a second painter. The main characteristic of these drawings is that the typical Persian conventions mostly appear under simplified forms; less use than is customary, for instance, being made of the possibilities of the high hill background. Many of the features of early Timurid drawings are, however, present, together with

reminiscences of early conventions, such as the occurrence of red colouring in the cheeks, and white lines to mark the high lights along the noses. The manner of depicting animals and birds is often almost grotesquely expressive. Trees show considerable diversity, very happy decorative results being sometimes achieved by the use of Chinese tree- and flower-forms. Chinese clouds are often introduced, not in the sky but against hilly backgrounds. There is some repetition.

The colours are as a rule rather subdued, though gold is freely used in the skies and elsewhere.

The general character of the illustrations, which can be gathered from the reproductions, is distinctly different from other work of the period, and may be peculiar to Isfahan at the time, if, as seems likely from the fact that the scribes were both natives of that city, the manuscript was executed there.

Most of the miniatures are set in rectangular bands occupying the full breadth of the writing space; there are a few full- and double-page illustrations.

Some miniatures are slightly damaged, and a few have apparently been retouched.

The subjects of the individual paintings are as follows:

Vol. i. (1) Fol. 33*b*. The Sasanian King Hurmuzd seated on his throne with Khusrau Parvīz begging his forgiveness.

(2) Fol. 36. A painting of similar form showing Shīrīn seated beneath a tree on a red carpet holding a picture of Khusrau Parvīz, of whom, after three meetings, she becomes enamoured. Of five ladies sitting under trees in the garden before Shīrīn, four, as well as Shīrīn, are wearing cockscomb head-dresses characteristic of the early Timurid period.

(3) Fol. 39. Khusrau Parvīz sees Shīrīn bathing in a stream and falls in love with her.

(4) Fol. 41*b*. Khusrau Parvīz on his throne listening to Shāpūr, who is telling him the story of Shīrīn's life.

(5) Fol. 46. Khusrau Parvīz dispatching a lion in the presence of Shīrīn and one of her ladies-in-waiting, on a plain by a winding stream. This and the following painting, in style and the smaller scale of the figures, differ from most of the rest in this manuscript.

(6) Fol. 47. On a blue and gold throne ornamented with Chinese dragons sit Khusrau and Shīrīn; around them are some of their suite.

(7) Fol. 50*b*. A battle between the forces of Khusrau Parvīz and those of the pretender Bahrām Chūbīn.

(8) Fol. 57*b*. The sculptor Farhād brought by Shāpūr to Shīrīn, who is seen seated in a garden in the shade of some trees; Farhād has his pick on his shoulder.

(9) Fol. 58*b*. Farhād, while carving on the rocks of Mount Bīsutūn, is visited by Shīrīn on horseback.

(10) Fol. 60*b*. Khusrau Parvīz, on learning of Farhād's passion for Shīrīn, has the sculptor brought before him.

(11) Fol. 63. Farhād crosses the rock of Mount Bīsutūn with Shīrīn on her horse upon his shoulders; she wears the cockscomb head-dress. The ground is painted in gold.

(12) Fol. 64. Falsely apprised by a messenger, who is seen standing behind a rock, of the death of Shīrīn, Farhād kills himself upon Mount Bīsutūn. He lies dead at the base of his sculptures, one of which shows a horseman hastening towards a lady who is sitting near a tree.

(13) Fol. 77. Musicians playing before Khusrau and Shīrīn, who are embracing. A page kneels, holding a gold dish.

(14) Fol. 79*b*. Khusrau and Shīrīn emerging from their tent.

(15) Fol. 81*b*. Khusrau and Shīrīn enthroned after the wedding in the royal palace. (This miniature is very similar to No. 13.)

(16) Fol. 85*b*. Khusrau and Shīrīn reposing in their palace, just before Khusrau is killed.

(17) Fol. 86*b*. Shīrīn mourning over Khusrau's coffin before taking her own life.

(18) Fol. 88. Khusrau seated on a carpet with Shīrīn standing beside him. A man is handing him a portrait of the Prophet Muḥammad. Parvīz finds that the portrait resembles the Arab whom he saw in a dream inviting him to embrace Islam.

(19) Fol. 100*b*. Majnūn and Lailā learning to read with other school-children.

(20) Fol. 102. Majnūn comes across Lailā seated beneath a tree outside her tent.

(21) Fol. 104. Majnūn on pilgrimage at Mecca, whither he has been taken by his father to cure his passion for Lailā; he is here seen grasping the gold ring of the door of the Ka'bah.

(22) Fol. 107*b*. Lailā, seated in a grove of cypresses, palms, and pomegranates. She hears the voice of a man hidden in the trees who sings one of the odes of Majnūn, and is espied by another Arab woman.

(23) Fol. 112. Majnūn, on horseback, begging a hunter to release a captured gazelle.

(24) Fol. 112*b*. Majnūn delivers an onager from the bonds in which a hunter was holding it. The artist has represented the onager by a deer.

(25) Fol. 113. At the foot of a rock on the bank of a pool Majnūn holds converse with ravens in a tree.

(26) Fol. 114. Majnūn is led in chains by an old woman to Lailā's tent under a tree.

(27) Fol. 119*b*. Majnūn, on a plain, in the midst of the wild animals with which he lives.

(28) Fol. 120. The companion of the king is left to be torn by savage dogs, but is spared by them on account of his having fed them in former days.

(29) Fol. 126. Majnūn in a cemetery mourning over his father's and mother's graves.

(30) Fol. 127*b*. Majnūn seated on a rock in a wooded landscape traversed by a stream.

(31) Fol. 133. Majnūn and Lailā lying unconscious among wild animals beneath a tree.

(32) Fol. 136*b*. Majnūn retires from the world to live with the wild animals in the desert after Lailā's death.

(33) Fol. 137*b*. Two men gazing in astonishment at Majnūn, who has embraced Lailā's tomb and died.

(34) Fol. 148. Bahrām Gūr, on horseback, slaying a dragon.

(35) Fol. 151*b*. Bahrām Gūr, on horseback, is killing one of two lions before seizing from their guard the crown of Iran.

(36) Fol. 153*b*. Bahrām Gūr, on a camel, with his favourite Chinese maiden riding pillion, hunts the onager; the maiden is not playing the traditional harp, which is left on the ground.

(37) Fol. 155. Bahrām Gūr, seated on the upper level of a balcony in the house of his host, the general, beholds his own former Chinese maiden climbing the staircase to the roof with an ox on her shoulders.

(38) Fol. 156*b*. Bahrām Gūr breaks the army of the Khāqān of Chīn with an arrow.

(39) Fol. 164. Bahrām Gūr arrives on horseback before the golden dome of the daughter of the king of the second region.

(40) Fol. 166*b*. Bahrām Gūr standing at the door of the green palace of the princess of the third region.

(41) Fol. 169. Bahrām Gūr at the door of the red palace of the princess of the fourth region.

(42) Fol. 172. The charger of Bahrām Gūr left in the care of an attendant at the door of the blue palace of the princess of the fifth region.

(43) Fol. 177. Bahrām Gūr on horseback at the door of the sandalwood-coloured palace of the princess of the sixth region.

(44) Fol. 180*b*. Bahrāni Gūr on horseback at the door of the white palace of the princess of the seventh region.

(45) Fol. 187*b*. Bahrām Gūr has his Vazir hanged on account of the wrongs he has done to the people.

(46) Fol. 199. Iskandar on his throne in the midst of his courtiers.

(47) Fol. 205. Iskandar on horseback in a meadow seeking from the combat of two partridges to derive an augury concerning his intended campaign against Dārā.

(48) Foll. 213*b*–214. A double-page illustration of a battle between the forces of Iskandar and Dārā.

(49) Fol. 215. Iskandar supporting on his knees the head of the mortally wounded Dārā in the presence of his lamenting womenfolk.

(50) Fol. 220*b*. Dārā's daughter Raushanak, who is wedded to Iskandar, has come with her mother to join her husband in his tent at Isfahan.

(51) Fol. 223*b*. The pilgrimage of Iskandar to the Ka'bah. He is shown grasping the door-ring; on either side of the doorway are representations of blue porcelain vases, holding plants.

(52) Fol. 225*b*. Iskandar and Nūshābah, Queen of Barda', enthroned in the midst of their suites.

(53) Fol. 228*b*. Iskandar, seated on a carpet under a tree, with a fire burning in front of him.

(54) Fol. 232*b*. Iskandar, seated on a carpet among some trees, at the foot of Kaikhusrau's throne. A servant is holding the gold goblet of Kaikhusrau before him.

(55) Fol. 240*b*. Iskandar receiving in state the ambassador of the Khāqān of Chīn.

(56) Fol. 242*b*. The contest between the painters of Rūm and of Chīn. The former has made a picture, and the latter a polished surface reflecting, like a mirror, the other's painting.

(57) Fol. 243. Mānī has painted a dead dog in a pool painted by the Chinese.

(58) Fol. 244. Iskandar on a throne is attended by his host, the Khāqān, with musicians and a female dancer.

(59) Foll. 248*b*–249. A double-page illustration depicting a battle between the Russians and the forces of Iskandar; he is rescuing Nūshābah from the hands of the former.

(60) Fol. 253. Iskandar on his charger dragging off a giant whom he has caught in a lasso.

(61) Fol. 257*b*. Iskandar embracing a maiden on a throne in a palace.

(62) Fol. 259*b*. Khiẓr and Ilyās drinking from the source of the Water of Life, while Iskandar is searching for it.

(63) Fol. 276*b*. Iskandar with his suite paying a visit to Suqrāṭ (Socrates).

(64) Fol. 277*b*. Iskandar, on a throne, giving audience to the ambassador of Hind.

(65) Fol. 279*b*. Iskandar, seated on a carpet, holding converse with the philosophers.

(66) Fol. 281*b*. Iskandar, on his throne, receiving God's instructions from two angels (dressed like religious men).

(67) Fol. 287*b*. Iskandar in the enchanted garden filled with trees bearing precious stones.

(68) Fol. 291. Iskandar listening to the story of the idol with two jewels for eyes, told by the maiden in the idol temple of Qandahar.

(69) Fol. 291*b*. Iskandar visiting, on horseback, the edge of the Blue Sea and the mermaids.

(70) Fol. 292*b*. Iskandar, at the top of a domed edifice on the seashore, is destroying the efficacy of the copper talisman statue.

(71) Fol. 294*b*. Iskandar, on horseback, inspecting the building of the barrier against Gog and Magog. One of his archers is shooting at the demons who are appearing behind the wall.

(72) Fol. 297*b*. Iskandar lying sick in the midst of his womenfolk, officers, and physicians.

(73) Fol. 299*b*. Iskandar's bier mourned over by men and women.

Vol. ii. (1) Fol. 42*b*–43. A double-page picture showing Khusrau Parvīz and three other horsemen. Khusrau is holding a portrait of Shīrīn.

(2) Fol. 44*b*. Khusrau and Shīrīn seated under trees in a park.

(3) Foll. 46*b*–47. A double-page picture of a battle between the forces of Khusrau Parvīz and Bahrām Chūbīn.

(4) Fol. 49*b*. Khusrau and Shīrīn seated on their throne; before them are Shāpūr, the king's confidant, and others.

(5) Fol. 53*b*. Khusrau with Shikar in her house in Isfahan, listening to music.

(6) Fol. 55*b*. While Khusrau is spending his time with Shikar, Shīrīn receives Farhād in the presence of her court ladies. This miniature has been retouched.

(7) Fol. 60*b*. Khusrau disguised as a shepherd goes to see Farhād on Mount Bīsutūn.

(8) Fol. 61*b*. Farhād among the fastnesses of Mount Bīsutūn; a messenger of Khusrau Parvīz is bringing him the false news of Shīrīn's death.

(9) Fol. 63*b*. Shikar, poisoned by Shīrīn out of jealousy, is lying on her death-bed and leaving her last messages to Khusrau with her weeping mother.

(10) Fol. 66. Khusrau Parvīz, with a companion, near a stream in a park, grieving on account of Shīrīn's anger towards him.

(11) Fol. 67. Khusrau Parvīz arriving on horseback at the castle to which Shīrīn has retired.

(12) Fol. 71. Khusrau and Shīrīn seated on a throne between two trees listening to music, played and sung by Bārbad and Nakīsā, one of whom is not depicted.

(13) Fol. 74*b*. Khusrau and Shīrīn, wedded, seated on a throne, with servants and female musicians.

(14) Fol. 81. Khusrau Parvīz put in chains by order of his son Shīrūyah.

(15) Fol. 81*b*. Khusrau and Shīrīn asleep.

(16) Fol. 89*b*. Lailā and Majnūn at school.

(17) Fol. 91*b*. Majnūn in the desert, surrounded by the wild animals with which he lives, telling his father of his love for Lailā.

(18) Fol. 93. Majnūn's father asks Lailā's father for his daughter's hand.

(19) Fol. 94*b*. A skirmish between Majnūn's Arab tribesmen and those of Lailā.

(20) Fol. 96*b*. Majnūn is wedded, to the envy of all, to Nūfil's daughter, but his heart and thoughts are with Lailā.

(21) Fol. 100. Majnūn on the bank of a stream.

(22) Fol. 101. Majnūn, in the desert, in the midst of the wild animals, is caressing a black hound, which, hungry and weary, has sought refuge with him.

(23) Fol. 102*b*. Lailā finds Majnūn dreaming in the desert.

(24) Fol. 106. Lailā seated in a garden inquiring of a traveller about Majnūn.

(25) Fol. 108*b*. Majnūn mourning on Lailā's tomb.

(26) Fol. 118. Bahrām Gūr, on an onager hunt, throws his favourite lutanist from her horse, which he takes away.

(27) Fol. 119. Bahrām Gūr observing how his former favourite puts the wounded onagers to sleep by playing to them.

(28) Fol. 120*b*. Bahrām Gūr before the palace with seven domed edifices, built for the seven princesses. Six of these are to be seen on the roof.

(29) Fol. 121*b*. Bahrām Gūr, on Saturday, in the black edifice, listening to the tale of the daughter of the king of Hind.

(30) Fol. 124. Bahrām Gūr, on Sunday, listening beneath the saffron dome to the tale of the princess of the Nīmrūz region.

(31) Fol. 127*b*. Bahrām Gūr, on Monday, under the green dome with the daughter of the king of the Saqlāb region.

(32) Fol. 130. Bahrām Gūr, on Tuesday, under the dome of the colour of pomegranate flowers, with the princess of the Tātār region.

(33) Fol. 134. Bahrām Gūr, on Wednesday, under the violet dome with the princess of another region.

(34) Fol. 139. Bahrām Gūr, on Thursday, under the sandalwood-coloured dome with the princess of the Arab region.

(35) Fol. 143. Bahrām Gūr, on Friday, under the white dome with the princess of the Khvārazm region.

(36) Fol. 146*b*. Bahrām Gūr pursuing an onager which is seeking refuge in a pit by a swamp. Bahrām later on sinks in the swamp and meets his death.

(37) Fol. 157*b*. Iskandar and the Khāqān of Chīn, both mounted.

(38) Fol. 162*b*. Iskandar seated on his throne with the Chinese maiden whom he has captured in single combat, with an attendant holding a gold dish, and a female musician.

(39) Fol. 164. Iskandar kills the Khāqān of Chīn.

(40) Fol. 168. Iskandar watching the manners of the prisoners of Gog and Magog at a feast he is giving them.

(41) Fol. 169. Iskandar has a barrier built against Gog and Magog.

(42) Fol. 179*b*. Iskandar has dismounted and is conversing with Aflāṭūn (Plato) whom he is visiting with his master Arasṭū (Aristotle).

(43) Fol. 185*b*. Iskandar, seated on his throne, ordering a letter to be written to his son and successor Iskandarūs.

(44) Fol. 187*b*. Iskandar, seated on a carpet under a tent, visited by the angel who guards the sea, who appears in human form and kneels before him.

(45) Fol. 188*b*. Iskandar on his way to the bottom of the ocean encounters various sea-monsters.

(46) Fol. 189*b*. Iskandar, with the angel, on returning to land is met by a man who kisses the conqueror's hand.

(47) Fol. 190*b*. Iskandar, enthroned, receiving gifts from various rulers of the world; three female musicians are playing.

(48) Fol. 193. Iskandar's bier, borne by a white elephant, with a horseman behind and two mourners in front.

SEALS AND INSCRIPTIONS. In a note which appears on fol. 294*b* of vol. ii, after the colophon to the *Būstān*, it is stated that this great poetical anthology once formed part of the library of the 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur in southern India. A part of the inscription reads: 'By virtue of a purchase made from Khvājah 'Ayyūb this anthology [passed into] the library of his august and splendid majesty . . . Sulṭān 'Ādil-shāh, may his reign be everlasting, on the 24th Ramazān 920 H.' (12 November 1514). The ruler in question was Sulṭān Ismā'īl 'Ādil-shāh, who ruled at Bijapur from 916 to 941 (1511–34). On the same page is the seal of this prince as well as a most accurate index to the two volumes, which were then bound as one. [E. B. and M. M.]

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MAṢNAVĪ OF RŪMĪ

DATED 846 (1442)

A manuscript of the Maṣnavī of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. This copy of the *Maṣnavī*, the most celebrated of all Persian mystical poems, by Rūmī (see 116 *ante*), comprises the six authentic books of verse together with their prose prefaces. According to some notes in red ink made in the book in 1104 (1692) by a scholar to whom it then belonged, the first book contains 3,998 verses, the second 3,845, the third 4,755, the fourth 3,860, the fifth 4,318, and the sixth 5,193: a total of 25,969. Marginal notes in the same Turkish hand of the very end of the 17th century contain details about Rūmī's grandfather Ḥusain Balkhī and the poet himself, with other matters; on fol. 1 is a tale recorded by the famous Shaikh Najm al-Dīn Kubra as well as by Ḥusain Maibudī, in which the great Mystic Abū'l-Ḥasan tells of his ascent to the Throne of Allah and of the things he saw there. At the end of the book the Turkish annotator has appended a note upon the spurious seventh book[1] of the *Maṣnavī* attributed by some persons to Rūmī.

[1] See Rieu, p. 588.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 23·6 × 16·1 cm.; the written surface measures 17·0 × 11·6 cm.; 4 columns of 21 lines; 358 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a fine small *Naskh* enclosed within gold borders. The paper is somewhat opaque.

BINDING. The outside of the cover is of light-brown leather with gilt sunk centres and corners, ornamented with scroll patterns; the inside is of red leather with gilt lining.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript was copied in 846 (1442) by Bāyazīd ibn Ibrāhīm i Tabrīzī, for a certain Amīr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad.

ILLUMINATION. On fol. 1*b*, at the head of the prose preface in Arabic to the first volume, is a *sarlauḥ*, in blue and gold and a little black and green, with fleurons of unusual elegance. There are thin gold 'plaited' borders. As is usual in *éditions de luxe* of this work, foll. 1*b* and 2 form a kind of frontispiece containing the text of the above preface inscribed in very elegant gold *Naskh*. A profusely ornamented double-page frontispiece on foll. 2*b* and 3 contains the opening of the first book set within a framework of gold, blue, and black panels embellished with flowers of various colours, chiefly red, and fleurons. Five magnificent *'unvāns*, remarkably pure in colour, on foll. 58*b*, 108*b*, 177, 229*b*, and 290*b*, form the frontispieces to the remaining five books. The sub-titles are in gold on cloud forms throughout. The ornament throughout is particularly good.

[E. B. and M. M.]

ṢAD KALIMAH

MID 15TH CENTURY

A manuscript of The Ṣad kalimah, apophthegms of 'Alī, with an interlinear versified Persian translation

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The apophthegms and proverbial sayings popularly attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40 (= 661)), the cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, and fourth Caliph, were eagerly collected by the Shī'ites: one such collection is *Mi'ah kalimah* or *Ṣad kalimah* ('Hundred Words') which was used by the Persian prosodist and poet Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jalīl al-'Umarī, called Rashīd i Vaṭvāṭ (d. 578 (1182)), as material for the composition of verses. The present manuscript contains the Arabic text of the proverbs with Vaṭvāt's metrical paraphrases. For the bibliography of this work see Brockelmann, i. 43–4; Suppl. i. 75, to which add the edition (Calcutta, 1927) and translation of A. H. Harley, published under the title *Ṣad kalima or Centiloquium.* This copy begins with a short preface in Arabic:

الحمد لله علي الطاف كرمه وأصناف نعمه والصّلوة وَالسّلم على نبيّه محمّدٍ وآلهِ واصحابه حماة الحق وسلّم تسليما

قال اميرُ المؤمنين وامام المتّقين ويعسوبُ المسلمين وقآئِد العزّ المحجّلين اسد الله الغالب علىّ بن ابي طالب

كرم الله وجهه ورضى الله عَنه

The first saying with its paraphrase runs:

لو کشف الغطاء ما ازددت یقینًا

حال خلد و جحیم دانستم بیقین آنچنانکه می باید

گر حجاب از میانه بر خیزد زان یقین ذرّهٔ نیفزاید

The text exhibits variations from the usually received edition.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 21·1 × 12·9 cm.; the written surface measures 13·8 × 7·1 cm.; 9 lines; 19 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The preface and the Arabic text are written in fine *Ṣulṣ*; the Persian text is in clear old *Naskh*. The polished paper is thin but firm; it is a little discoloured with age, and has some water-stains.

BINDING. The finely designed binding is contemporary with the transcription, and is of dark-brown leather ornamented with a centre medallion consisting of a pointed oval blue ground with filigree brown and gilt stucco, the whole flanked by gilt stamped margins, gilt corners, and frieze. The spines are later supplies.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript is undated, but appears to have been compiled towards 860 (1456). The colophon is signed by Zain al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad al-Kātib.

ILLUMINATION. The manuscript opens (fol. 1) with a superb rosette consisting of a gold centre (with a rim of 16 segments of circles) surrounded by a dark blue concentric circle relieved with an arabesque of leaves and flowers in gilt, red, green, pink, and white. On fol. 1*b* is an exquisite *ʿunvān* in lapis and gold with floral arabesques in colour with the motto لا اله الا الله in gilt Cufic. The preface is executed in gilt and is ornamented with interlinear gilt and coloured fleurons; the Arabic text is written throughout in gilt, three lines to a page, within gilt rules, and the Persian text is arranged with a single line at the head and foot of each page and a pair of lines between each pair of Arabic texts. The colophon is in black ornamented with gilt clouds and flanked by a pair of gilt and coloured fleurons.

SEALS. There are erased seals on fol. 1. [A. J. A.]

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ANTHOLOGY

DATED 835 (1449)

An Anthology of Ghazals

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. This little oblong anthology, of a type which seems characteristic of Herat from the early 15th century (see nos. 122 and 159), is described in the colophon as '*ghazals* by various authors'. The contents comprise

ghazals from Sa'dī (fol. 1*b*), Ḥasan [Dihlavī] (fol. 25), Khvājū Kirmānī (fol. 32*b*), 'Irāqī (fol. 37), Auḥadī (fol. 40), Qāsim i Anvār (fol. 53*b*), Amīr Khusrau (fol. 61*b*),[1] Kātibī (fol. 85), Maḥmūd ibn Yamīn (fol. 85*b*), Firdausī's *Shāh-nāmah* (fol. 93), Salmān Sāvajī (fol. 99), Ḥasan again (fol. 104), Kamāl al-Dīn [Khujandī] (fol. 106*b*), 'Imād [Faqīh] (fol. 130*b*), Ḥāfiẓ (fol. 139*b*), Nazārī (fol. 150), an episode from the romance of Lailā and Majnūn by Niẓāmī (fol. 152), Nazārī's *ghazals* again (fol. 155*b*), Kātibī again (fol. 156), Jalāl (fol. 157), 'Ubaid [Zākānī] (fol. 165), 'Iṣmat (fol. 172*b*), Shāhī (fol. 184), gastronomic poems of Busḥāq (fol. 190), and at the end (fol. 197, &c.) a few quatrains and other detached verses.

Many folios are lost, e.g. the first folio of the index (the present fol. 1 being the original fol. 2), and there are lacunae after foll. 24, 30, 36, 39, 84, 92, 149, 164, and 189. The existing index-folio registers only the contents of fol. 130 to the end. The extracts from Niẓāmī and Firdausī are not mentioned in the index.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 21·2 × 7·7 cm. (oblong); the written surface measures 13·7 × 4·3 cm. (var.); 204 folios of script at various angles.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a small *Nasta'līq* written within gold rules; the paper is of ivory, mauve, and yellowish tones, polished and thin.

BINDING. The cover is of limp chestnut-brown leather.

DATE AND SCRIBE. The manuscript was completed in Rajab 853 (July–Aug. 1449) by an unknown scribe.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. The frontispiece on fol. 1, containing the title noted above, consists of a blue, gold, and black 'carpet' of characteristic Herat style. There are also beautifully executed headings on foll. 32*b*, 53*b*, 61*b*, 69*b*, 85*b*, 106*b*, 132*b*, 141*b*, and 157*b*, in blue and gold, with other colours. In some of these black and green are very effectively introduced, while in others the red is, by contrast, noticeable. Most of the pages are decorated, sometimes profusely, with gold and coloured floral corner and other ornaments. Many have similar floral border ornament, completely enclosing the text.

Foll. 5*b*–6, 20*b*–21, 27*b*–28, 42*b*–43, 56*b*–57, 64*b*–65, 72*b*–73, 80*b*–81, 89, 96, 104*b*, 105*b*, 109*b*–110, 117*b*–118, 125*b*–126, 131*b*–132, 137*b*, 154*b*, 160*b*–161, 167*b*–168, 186*b*–187, 192*b*–193, 200*b*–201, contain stencilled designs in gold on pale mauve, sometimes of fishes, confronting birds, or deer, sometimes floral or geometrical. The designs are occasionally drawn upside down. They are sometimes partly painted. Medallions are often introduced.

There are three small miniatures, very rich in colouring. The drawing is rather simple and archaic.

The subjects of the individual pictures are as follows:

(1) Fol. 95. This remarkable miniature, unusual in style, shows Akvān, the Dīv, removing Rustam on his rock to cast him into the sea, in which fish are darting about. Rustam has on his traditional head-dress, a gold helmet surmounted by a tiger's head.

(2) Foll. 104*b*–105. These two confronting pages show four angels in white robes

[1] Renewed title at fol. 69 *b*.

and gold crowns amid ornamental foliage with a central flower in the form of a satyr's head.

(3) Foll. 131*b*–132. Four angels undraped below the waist; one pair has brown and blue wings and blue tunics, the other pair brown and blue wings and violet tunics. They hover against a ground of foliage forms on which their lower limbs terminate.

(4) Foll. 153*b*–154. A double-page illustration showing Majnūn's mother setting out on a camel led by a man, to see her son, who is represented as a bearded figure, seated among the animals.

SEALS AND INSCRIPTIONS. On fol. 1 is a seal of ownership.

[E. B. and M. M.]

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'AJĀ'IB AL-MAKHLŪQĀT

MID 15TH CENTURY?

A fragmentary manuscript of the 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt of al-Qazvīnī, in Arabic

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharā'ib al-Maujūdāt*, or the 'Wonders of Creation', is an encyclopaedic work embodying the cosmography of Islamic culture on supernatural and worldly beings (the heavens and their dwellers, angels, and stars, the reckoning of time and meteoric appearances, the elements and the natural history of stones, plants, man, and animals). It was composed in 661 (1262/3) by Zakarīyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qazvīnī, who was born about 600 (1203/4) and died 682 (1283).[1] The book has been printed several times. The present fragments are part of a manuscript of the original Arabic version. There exist at least two different Persian versions, one of which has been printed.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 32 × 24·5 cm.; the written surface measures 25 × 19 cm.; 22 lines; about 190 folios.

WRITING AND PAPER. The writing is a *Naskh* enclosed within gold and coloured rulings. The paper is strong but the manuscript is badly damaged throughout.

DATE AND SCRIBE. Neither the name of the scribe nor the date is known. The illustrations, which are, as often in works of this nature, largely traditional, are of a somewhat antique type, and the late M. Blochet suggested a mid-14th-century date for the whole manuscript. It seems, however, more probable that both text and illustrations are not earlier than the middle of the 15th century.

ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS. Tradition dictated the embellishment of manuscripts of this work with numerous paintings depicting the objects discussed in the text; the 108 here preserved emulate those in the old Arabic manuscripts. They are lightly coloured. They include: (fol. 68) the Queen of the Vaqvāq

[1] Brockelmann i. 481; and Suppl. i. 882.